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R E M A R K S

ON

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

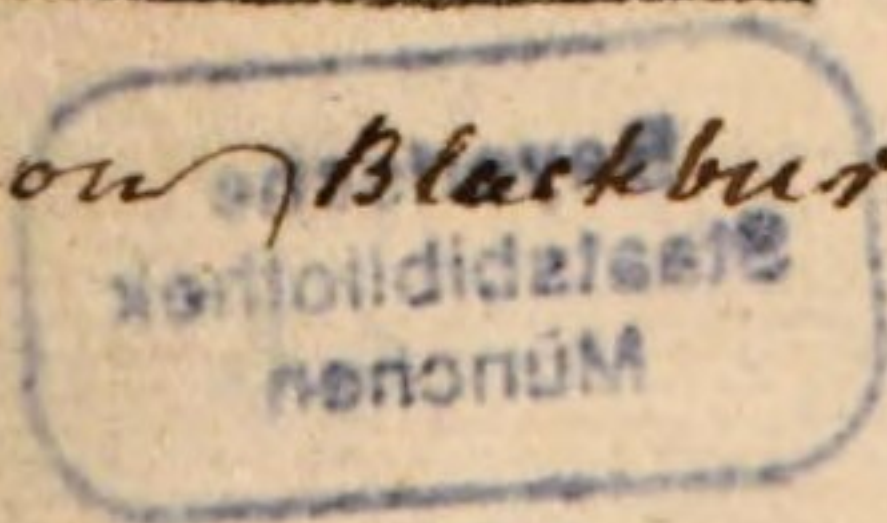
MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDVCATION *p. 161.*

AND AREOPAGITICA. *p. 223.*

L O N D O N :

MDCCLXXX.

By Archdeacon Blackburne.



REMARKS

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

MILTON'S STRAIGHT EDUCATION

AND ANNOTATIONS, &c.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is necessary to inform the reader, that the following *Remarks* are a small part of a work lately given to the public, wherein occasion is incidentally taken to exhibit some instances of the manner in which Milton's character has been treated by some of his former biographers and others. About the time *that* specimen was closed Dr. Johnson's *New Narrative* was thrown in the way of the editors, and could not be overlooked without leaving some of the more candid and capable judges of Milton's prose-writings to suffer by the illiberal reflections of certain (perhaps well-

meaning) men, who may be led to think that truth, judgment, and impartiality are small matters, when contrasted with what Dr. Johnson's admirers have thought fit to call, an inimitable elegance of style and composition. Our countrymen are certainly interested, that wrong representations of the character of so capital a writer as John Milton should be corrected, and properly censured; and therefore as the work from which the following Remarks are extracted may fall into the hands of very few of the numerous readers of Dr. Johnson's *Prefaces*, we hope the public will approve of our republishing these strictures on the Doctor's account of Milton, in a form to which may be had an easier and more general access.

We

We have only to add, that it has been thought convenient to subjoin to these Remarks, new and accurate editions of two of Milton's prose tracts; *viz.* his Letter to Mr. Samuel Hartlib on Education, and his Areopagitica. The first was grown scarce, being omitted in some editions, both of the author's prose and poetical works; but highly worthy to be preserved as prescribing a course of discipline, which, though out of fashion in these times, affords many useful lessons to those who may have abilities and courage enough to adopt some of those improvements, of which the modes of learned education in present practice are confessedly susceptible.

The other will of course recommend itself to all advocates for the liberty of the press, and moreover may, in half an hour's reading, entertain some part of the public with a contrast between the magnanimity of Milton, in facing a formidable enemy, and Dr. Johnson's feeble meditations, the shifty wiles of a man between two fires, who neither dares fight nor run away. These two tracts are published from the first editions.



Gabriel Manigault. Caroliniensis, del.

Bastre Sc:

REMARKS
ON
JOHNSON'S Life of MILTON.

WE were in hope that we had done
with Milton's Biographers; and had little
forefight that so accomplished an artificer

B

of

of language would have condescended to bring up the rear of his historians.

But it was not for the reputation of Dr. Johnson's politics that Milton should be abused for his principles of Liberty by a less eminent hand than his own. The minute snarlers, or *spumose* declaimers against the sentiments and diction of Milton's prose-works, had ceased to be regarded, till the maxims of some of those who pay Dr. Johnson's quarterages had occasioned an inquiry into the genuine principles of the English Government, when the writings of Milton, Sydney, Locke, &c. which the moderation of the last reign had left in some degree of neglect, were now taken down from the shelves where they had so long reposed, to confront the doctrines which,
it

it had been presumed, would never more come into fashion.

No man contributed more to restore the esteem and credit of these noble patriotic writers than the late ever-to-be-honoured Mr. Hollis, of whose beautiful and accurate editions of Sydney's Discourses, of Locke on Government and Toleration, and of Toland's Life of Milton, we have spoken largely in another place.

Dr. Johnson's peace of mind required that this recovering taste of the public should not ripen into appetite, particularly for Milton's works, whose reputation he had formerly taken so much elegant pains to depreciate. The source of his disaffection to Milton's principles can

be no secret to those who have been conversant in the controversies of the times. Dr. Johnson's early and well-known attachments will sufficiently account for it; and posterity will be at no loss to determine whether our biographer's veneration was paid to the *White Rose* or the *Red* *.

But Dr. Johnson's particular malevolence to Milton may not be so well known, or possibly forgot; we shall therefore give a short account of its progress, from its first appearance to its consummation in this *Life of Milton*.

In the year 1747, one William Lauder sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* some hints of Milton's plagiarism, in pillaging certain modern writers for the materials of his poem, intituled, *Paradise Lost*.

* See Preface to Milton, p. 2.

Who William Lauder was, what was his character, and of what stamp his moral and political principles, may be learned from a pamphlet, intituled, *FURIUS*, printed for Carpenter, in Fleet-street, without a date; but, as evidently appears by the Remarks at the end of it, published soon after Lauder's appearance in the Gentleman's Magazine, with his famous discoveries.

Congenial politics create connections between men in whose abilities there is great disparity. Buchanan's principles, in his dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, were equally detested by the noted Thomas Ruddiman and William Lauder. But Lauder's malignity could never prevail with the ingenuous Ruddiman to

detract from Buchanan's poetical merit, in compliance with Lauder's furious zeal in favour of Johnston's Latin translation of David's Psalms, to which Lauder gave the preference.

In his alliance with Dr. Johnson, cemented by their mutual antipathy to Milton's principles of civil and religious government, he found a paternal indulgence of his splenetic animosity.

Milton was a Whig, and therefore must be a Plagiary; accordingly when the time came that Lauder's strictures in the Gentleman's Magazine had swelled into the size of a pamphlet of 160 pages, it was ushered into public by a preface, and finished by a postscript, from the illustrious hand of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

On

On occasion of these head and tail-pieces the ingenious Dr. Douglas, the detector of Lauder's forgeries, writes thus :

“ 'Tis to be hoped, nay, 'tis *expected*,
 “ that the elegant and nervous writer,
 “ whose judicious sentiments and inimi-
 “ table stile point out the author of Lau-
 “ der's Preface and Postscript, will no
 “ longer allow one to *plume himself with*
 “ *his feathers*, who appears so little to
 “ have deserved his assistance ; an assis-
 “ tance which, I am persuaded, would
 “ never have been communicated, had
 “ there been the least suspicion of those
 “ facts which I have been the instrument
 “ of conveying to the world *.”

* Milton vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, &c. by John Douglas, M. A. for Mil-
 lar, 1751, p. 77.

This favourable presumption was ill-founded and premature. It appeared afterwards, by the confession of Lauder himself, that “in Johnson’s friendship
 “he placed the most *implicit* and unli-
 “mited confidence *.”

Dr. Johnson had said for his friend, at the end of the *Essay*, that “Lauder’s mo-
 “tives were, a strict regard to truth
 “alone, &c. and none of them taken
 “from any difference of country, or of
 “sentiments in political or religious
 “matters †.” This Lauder, in his pam-
 phlet of 1754, expressly contradicted,
 and avowed motives of party and preme-
 ditated deception ‡. Here the cat leaped

* King Charles I. vindicated, p. 3, 4.

† *Essay*, p. 163.

‡ King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, Printed for Owen, 1754, p. 11.

out of the bag. It was now notorious that the fable had been inverted. The Lion roared in the Afs's Skin ; and if the Lion had not the whole afinine plan communicated to him *à priori*, Lauder's confidence in his friend Johnson was neither implicit nor unlimited.

Dr. Johnson, indeed, *it is to be suspected*, took upon him the patronage of Lauder's project from the beginning ; and bore his part in the controversy retailed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1747. There is at least a HIGH DEGREE OF PREPOLLENT PROBABILITY, that the Letter in that Magazine for the month of August, page 363, 364, signed WILLIAM LAUDER, came from the amicable hand of Mr. Samuel Johnson.

In

In the year 1751. was published Lauder's penitential letter * to Dr. Douglas, containing a full and free confession of his roguery : the merit of which was totally overthrown by a contradictory postscript ; which is thus accounted for by Lauder himself, after informing his readers, that his confidential friend advised an *unreserved* disclosure of his imposture.

“ With this expedient,” says Lauder,
 “ I then chearfully complied, *when that*
 “ *gentleman wrote for me that letter that*
 “ *was published in my name to Mr. Doug-*
 “ *las, in which he committed one error*
 “ *that proved fatal to me, and at the*
 “ *same time injurious to the public. For*

* Quarto, printed for Owen, 1751.

“ in

“ in the place of acknowledging that
 “ such particular passages only were in-
 “ terpolated, he gave up the whole essay
 “ against Milton as delusion and misre-
 “ presentation, and therefore imposed
 “ more grievously on the public than I
 “ had done ; and that too in terms much
 “ more submissive and abject than the
 “ nature of the offence required *.”

The amanuensis here gained two con-
 siderable points. 1. It was at his op-
 tion to mention or not the assistance that
 Lauder had in composing his essay ; and
 consequently to conceal in what degree
 the fraud was communicated to him
 from the beginning. 2. He effectually
 answered Mr. Douglas's expectation, who

* Vindication of King Charles I. p. 4.

would naturally conclude that Lauder had no accomplices in his villany, except the jesuits.

But they who read Lauder's complaints of this confidential friend in the pamphlet just quoted, must superabound both in faith and charity, if they can believe that the composer of the letter to Mr. Douglas was unconscious of Lauder's forgery, previously to Dr. Douglas's detection of it.

A postscript to a second edition of Dr. Douglas's *Vindication*, dated May 17, 1756, finished the controversy. Lauder was disgraced with the public, and discarded by his amanuensis, who turned a deaf ear to all his reproaches, and abandoned him to his fate, with a cool philosophical

sophical apathy, void of all ambition to share with him the blushing honours himself had so generously contributed to thicken upon Lauder's devoted head.

The effects of his journey-work, in defaming Milton, being thus disappointed by the laudable diligence of Dr. Douglas, and the unmanageable petulance of Lauder, common prudence suggested to our biographer the expedience of suppressing his impatience for another opportunity of lessening the public veneration for Milton's merit. Accordingly he laid by his project for about two years, when he might reasonably hope his manœuvres, under the hide of Lauder, would be forgotten, or laid asleep by a succession of that variety of entertainment which

which the press is always providing for the public on all sorts of subjects.

In January 1758 he released himself from his quarentine, and appeared in the Literary Magazine for that month, holding forth to the public his POETICAL SCALE, the particulars of which, save what relates to Milton, we leave to the critics by profession. This is what he says of Milton:

“ I am sensible that in the calculations
 “ I have here exhibited I have, in many
 “ instances, strong prejudices against me.
 “ The friends of Milton will not yield
 “ to Shakespeare the superiority of ge-
 “ nius, which, I think, lies on the side
 “ of Shakespeare. Both of them have
 “ faults. But the faults of Shakespeare
 “ were

“ were those of Genius; those of Milton
 “ of the MAN OF GENIUS. The former
 “ arises from *imagination* getting the
 “ better of *judgment*; the latter from
 “ *habit* getting the better of *imagination*.
 “ Shakespeare’s faults were those of a
 “ *great poet*; those of Milton of a *little*
 “ *pedant*. When Shakespeare is *execra-*
 “ *ble* he is so exquisitely so, that he is
 “ inimitable in his blemishes as in his
 “ beauties. The puns of Milton betray
 “ a *narrowness of education*, and a *dege-*
 “ *neracy of habit*.”

Thus far Dr. Johnson’s exhibition of
 Milton in the scale of poetical merit,
 which perhaps at the bottom may
 amount to no more than that Milton
 could not *make a saddle, or dance upon*
the

the rope *. But this too we leave to critics on poetry, of whom we should request to explain the difference between a *Genius* and a *Man of Genius*, and by what operation *habit*, in the abstract, gets the better of *imagination*; remarking only for ourselves, that for the balance-master to reproach Milton for his pedantry is certainly betraying a strange unconsciousness of his own talents, unless he depends upon his reader's sagacity in discriminating a *great* pedant from a *little* one. He is obliged, however, to complete the humiliation of Milton, to put his prose-works into the scale.

“ His theological quibbles and perplexed speculations are daily equalled

* See Cibber's Letter to Pope, p. 35.

“ and

“and excelled by the most abject enthusiasts; and if we consider him as a prose-writer, he has neither the learning of a scholar, nor the manners of a gentleman. There is no force in his reasoning, no elegance in his style, and no taste in his composition.”

Peremptory, but not decisive! To make this go down, even with a moderate tory, it should have been added, that the *narrowness* of Milton's education prevented, not only his proficiency in the study of the abstruser sciences, but even in the elemental acquisitions of reading or spelling.

“We are therefore,” continues the critic, “to consider him in one fixed point of light, that of a great poet,

C

“with

“ with a laudable envy of rivalling,
 “ eclipsing, and excelling, all who at-
 “ tempted sublimity of sentiment and
 “ description.”

Could this be a hopeful attempt in so wretched a writer of prose? or does the critic propose to entertain his readers with a miracle, or only with a paradox? Immediately however the critic withdraws Milton from this fixed *point of light*, and places his sublimity of sentiment and description in contrast with Shakespeare's amiable variety; and concludes, “ that
 “ Shakespeare could have *wrote* like
 “ Milton, but Milton could never have
 “ *wrote* like Shakespeare.”

Does not the Doctor here overturn his own metaphysical system? Shakespeare's

judge-

judgement, to have qualified him to write like Milton, must have got the better of his *imagination*; a confinement of Shakespeare's powers not half so possible as that Dr. Johnson should turn Whig.

“Some may think,” says the Doctor, in this same poetical scale, “that I have
“under-valued the character of Waller;
“but, in my own opinion, I have rather
“over-rated it.”

He has however made ample amends for this lenity in writing Waller's life; and it is a very gentle censure passed upon him by the Critical Reviewers *,
“that the Doctor's remarks on some of
“our best poets, particularly Milton and
“Waller, whose political opinions by no

* For May, 1779.

“ means coincided with his own, may be
 “ thought rather too severe.”

It was Waller's misfortune (a misfortune only in the scale of Dr. Johnson) to be born of a mother who was sister to the illustrious patriot John Hampden, whom the Doctor calls *the zealot of rebellion*, by the same figure of speech which represents Christopher Milton, as *taught by the law* to adhere to king Charles, who was breaking the law every day by a thousand of those arbitrary acts and oppressions which make up the description of a tyrant.

It is not easy to determine which, in this character of Hampden, is the more conspicuous, the zeal of the loyalist, or *the manners of the gentleman*. The man

talks in one place of Milton's *brutality*. We could wish to have his definition of the term, that we may not injure him in the *adoption* of it to his own style.

But Milton only, for the present, is our client, and only Milton the profe-writer, who, in that character, must ever be an eye-fore to men of Dr. Johnson's principles; principles that are at enmity with every patron of public liberty, and every pleader for the legal rights of Englishmen, which, in their origin, are neither more nor less than the natural rights of all mankind.

Milton, in contending for these against the tyrant of the day and his abettors, was serious, energetic, and irrefragable. He bore down all the silly sophisms in

favour of despotic power like a torrent, and left his adversaries nothing to reply, but the rhetoric of Billingsgate, from which Lauder, in the end of his pamphlet, intituled, “King Charles I. vindicated, &c.” has collected a nosegay of the choicest flowers; and pity it was, that he was too early to add his friend Johnson’s character of Milton the prose-writer to the favourable bouquet.

When the Doctor found, on some late occasions, that his crude abuse and malicious criticisms would not bring down Milton to the degree of contempt with the public which he had assigned him in the scale of prose-writers; he fell upon an expedient which has sometimes suc-
ceeded

ceeded [in particular exigences. In one word, he determined to write his Life.

There are no men so excellent who have not some personal or casual defect in their bodily frame, some awkward peculiarity in their manners or conversation, some scandalous calumny tacked to their private history, or some of those natural failings which distinguish human from angelic beings.

On the other hand, few men are so totally abandoned and depraved as to have no remnants of grace and goodness, no intervals of sobriety, no touches of regret for departed innocence, no sense of those generous passions which animate the wise and good to praise-worthy actions, or no natural or acquired abilities to abate

the resentment of the reputable public, and to atone, in some degree, for their immoralities.

A man of genius, who has words and will to depress or raise such characters respectively, will consider little in his operations upon them, but the motives and occasions which call for his present interference; and the world who know the artificer will make it no wonder that the encomiast and apologist of the profligate Richard Savage should employ his pen to satyrize and calumniate the virtuous John Milton.

“The Life of Milton,” says Dr. Johnson, “has been already written in so many forms, with such minute enquiry, that I might perhaps more properly

“perly have contented myself with the
 “addition of a few notes to Mr. Fen-
 “ton’s elegant Abridgement; but that a
 “new narrative was thought necessary to
 “the uniformity of this edition*.”

The uniformity of editions is commonly the bookseller’s care, and the necessity of such uniformity generally arises from the taste of the public; of which, among the number of names exhibited in the title-pages of these volumes, there must be many competent judges. It would be a pity however that a conformity to this taste should engage Dr. Johnson in writing this Life, to go beyond what would *more properly* have contented himself; the least intimation from the

* Life of Milton, p. i.

Biographer of the *impropriety* of a *new narrative* would, we are persuaded, have made the undertakers of the edition contented with the Doctor's plan.

He might not indeed have found the means to introduce certain particulars, which embellish his *new narrative*, into his notes on Mr. Fenton's abridgement, in which there is a vein of candor that does the writer more honour than the ingenuity of his performance; not to mention the different judgment, from that of Dr. Johnson, formed by Mr. Fenton, on some of Milton's poetical pieces.

We therefore believe this *new narrative* was calculated rather for Dr. Johnson's private *contentment* than the necessities of the edition.

A few

A few instances will serve to shew the probability of this surmise.

All the writers of Milton's Life before Dr. Johnson speak of the esteem with which Milton was honoured by his fellow-members of Christ's College at Cambridge. Milton values himself upon it at a time when the under-workers of the royalists, who sent different accounts to the defenders of Salmasius abroad, might have effectually confuted him. Let us now observe the contrast.

“ Of the exercises which the rules of
 “ the university required, some were ;
 “ published by him in his maturer
 “ years. They had been undoubtedly
 “ applauded, for they were such as few
 “ can perform ; yet there is reason to
 “ suf-

“suspect, that he was regarded in his
 “college with no great fondness. That
 “he obtained no fellowship is certain;
 “but the unkindness with which he was
 “treated was not merely negative. I am
 “ashamed to relate what I fear is true;
 “that Milton was the last student in
 “either university that suffered the pub-
 “lic indignity of corporal correction*.”

This silly tale is taken from Warton’s
 “Life and Remains of Dean Bathurst,”
 and retailed by Warton from some manu-
 scripts of Aubrey the antiquarian in the
 Ashmolean Museum, whose anile credu-
 lity has disabled him from being a writer
 of any authority. In what manner, and
 with what circumstances, this corporal

* Milton’s Life, p. 7, 8.

correction was inflicted in either university, we are not informed. Warton's words are, that "Milton was *actually* "whipped by Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, "Master of Christ's College, while he "was at Cambridge." Dr. Johnson calls it a *public indignity*, which is an *improvement* upon Aubrey, and renders the fact still more improbable. There is no specification of the offence, or of the time of the correction; and we may presume, that when this wholesome severity was most in vogue in either university, the head of a college would hardly make himself so ridiculous as to condescend to execute the office of a parish-beadle *.

There

* We have been informed, that the manner
of

There is another presumption against this anecdote. Warton observes, that Wood, who, according to him, compiled his account of Milton from Aubrey's manuscript, has omitted some circumstances, particularly this of his flagellation. Aubrey pretends he had his information from Milton's own mouth; or from his relations after his death; at least so he told Wood, who could not be supposed to omit this circumstance from any good-will he bore to Milton's memory. We may then reasonably suspect that Wood did not believe it, and that he was convinced Aubrey was misinformed; and suppose the story should be one of whipping young unlucky academics was, to hoist them upon the college buttery hatch, where the discipline was inflicted by the butler.

of

of those which Aubrey had from Milton's own mouth, Milton would hardly give him an account of the punishment, without signifying what was the fault.

Dr. Johnson says, "Milton was the
 "last student in *either university* that suf-
 "fered this corporal correction." Now
 Mr. Warton tells us, that "the whip was
 "an instrument of academical correc-
 "tion, not entirely laid aside in the old
 "age of Dr. Bathurst* ; but Bathurst
 survived Milton thirty years, and the
 time of Milton's admission above eighty.
 If Milton therefore was the last sufferer
 by this illiberal punishment in Cam-
 bridge, that university got the start of

* Life of Bathurst, p. 202.

Oxford * in *civilisation* by at least fifty or sixty years ; which is more honour, we believe, than Dr. Johnson desired Mr. Warton should confer upon it.

Mr. Warton says, “ This” [meaning the whipping-bout] “ explains more fully a passage in one of Milton’s elegies :

“ Nec

* “ In the public statutes of Oxford, the injunction of inflicting corporal punishment on boys under sixteen remains unrepealed, and in force at this day ; but the execution of this law, so repugnant to every liberal and decent idea, has been long abolished. Yet this code of statutes was compiled no longer ago than the year 1635. It was, however, no uncommon practice at a college in Oxford, where the foundation-scholars are elected very young, actually to punish with the rod as far down as the beginning of the present century.”

Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 493.

“Nec duri libet usque minas perferre

“magistri,

“Cæteraque ingenio non fubeunda

“meo.”

Where, in Mr. Warton's ideas, *cætera* signifies flogging. But Dr. Johnson having noted that it signifies something else besides threats, interprets it into something more, *i. e.* more severe, namely, punishment. But he seems to be in doubt whether that punishment was whipping or banishment; and with reason, for *cætera* may signify something more, *i. e.* something *over* and *besides* threats, and yet something *else* besides either whipping or rustication. The most natural interpretation of the second line seems to be, that those college-exercises

D

known

known by the name of *impositions* (often-times prescribed as punishments) did not suit Milton's genius, being indeed even within our memory calculated rather for the drudgery of an industrious plodder than suited to the genius of a youth of parts and spirit. Wonderful must be that *genius* which has a taste for being flogged or banished!

“It seems plain,” says the *new narrative*, “from his own verses to Diodati, “that he had incurred *rustication*, a temporary dismission into the country, with “perhaps the loss of a term.”

Milton was admitted of Christ's College, February 12, 1624-5. He took his bachelor's degree in 1628, so that without a *perhaps* he lost no term. In every

every college there is or should be a register, in which are entered all orders for expulsion and rustication of delinquents. This is necessary for the justification of the master and fellows against whom appeals and complaints are often lodged by the sufferers, either before the visitor or in Westminster-Hall. We have been informed, from the best authority, that there is an entry in the register of this very college, importing, that a candidate for a fellowship *, being rejected by the society, was, upon calling in the visitor †, established in his right, not without some severe expressions inserted

* The late Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

† Bishop Sherlock, then Vice-chancellor.

in the sentence, which the visitor, upon application, refused to expunge.

If therefore the Registers of Christ's College are silent with respect to the expulsion of John Milton, it is *not plain* that he was either expelled or rusticated, not to mention that the terms, *vetiti laris et exilium*, may refer to twenty causes besides that assigned by the new Biographer. If Milton's return to college was voluntary, it would be invidious to ascribe his absence to compulsion, unless you will suppose that the prohibition was the effect of his father's œconomy, which is by far most likely to have been the case.

Milton however was certainly out of humour with the universities (except
per-

perhaps with a few of his ingenious and judicious friends in them); and Dr. Johnson gives us our choice of two causes of it, *the injudicious severity of his governors, and Milton's captious perverseness**.

Had Milton left us nothing upon the subject but rude and indiscriminate abuse of the universities, Dr. Johnson's alternative in assisting us to account for it had been liberal and gracious. But the single letter of Milton to Hartlib shews that his objections were of another sort, and took their rise neither from any resentment against his governors for their severity, nor from any perverseness of his own temper. So far from blaming their severity, he reproves the *idle vacancies*

* Life, p. 10.

given both to schools and universities, as a detrimental and improper indulgence ; with respect to his own disposition, nothing appears here but a desire to meliorate the mode of education, in which Hartlib was as hearty as himself ; and it appears by our late academical reformations, that the authors of them were no more in humour with the methods of their predecessors than Milton himself.

It is true, Milton was zealous for Reformation in the church, and who can say it was not wanted ? or who but Dr. Johnson *will* say it ? Milton laid the errors and abuses in the church to the account of the bishops. The bishops countenanced and encouraged the universities ; and it was but natural for the universities

ties in their turn to inculcate that sort of learning which tended to uphold the episcopal authority, and consequently to prevent the reformation Milton wished for.

“ One of his objections,” says the Doctor, “ to academical education, as it was
 “ then conducted, is, that men designed
 “ for orders in the church were per-
 “ mitted to act plays, *writhing and un-*
 “ *boning their clergy limbs to all the antic*
 “ *and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes,*
 “ *buffoons, and barods, prostituting the*
 “ *shame of that ministry, which either they*
 “ *had or were nigh having, to the eyes of*
 “ *courtiers and court-ladies, with their*
 “ *grooms and madamoiselles*.*”

* Apology for Smectymnus, p. 110. Birch's ed.

Num fingit, num mentitur ! If *Ignoramus* was well acted at Trinity College, these ludicrous appearances must be exhibited to the spectators, who were persons exactly answering the description here given of them ; and if the characters were personated by clergymen, or candidates for orders, there is propriety as well as truth in Milton's reflection. But this is not the objection.

“ This is sufficiently peevish,” says the Doctor, “ in a man, who, when he
 “ mentions his exile from the college,
 “ relates, with great luxuriance, the
 “ compensation which the pleasures of
 “ the theatre afford him. Plays were
 “ therefore only criminal when they were
 “ acted by academicks *.”

* Life, p. 12.

The Doctor undoubtedly depended, that he had sufficiently disgusted his readers with his account of Milton's prose-writings, to prevent their looking for the context to his quotation, to which there is no reference, or mention of the tract from whence it is taken.

Perhaps indeed some of the more moderate idolizers of Dr. Johnson might perceive, even from this mutilated citation, that Milton did not blame these actors as they were *academics*, but as they were *clergymen*. But Milton had likewise another objection to them; they were scurvy performers.

“ There,” says Milton, “ while they
 “ acted and over-acted, among other
 “ young scholars, I was a spectator; they
 “ thought

“ thought themselves gallant men, and I
 “ thought them fools ; they made sport,
 “ and I laughed ; they mis-pronounced,
 “ and I misliked ; and, to make up the
 “ atticism, they were out, and I his’d *.”

These were not the faults of men of
 the theatrical profession, who were daily
 practitioners upon the stage, and by
 whom Milton was so highly entertained
 in the Metropolis.

Milton’s episcopalian opponents re-
 proached him as a dissolute rake ; and,
 among other irregularities, mentioned
 his frequenting the theatres, which they
 inferred from his speaking of vizzards
 and false beards. He answers, that there
 was no occasion to go to the public play-
 houses to learn the uses of these disguises ;

* Apology, p. 213.

forasmuch as plays were acted in the universities, with the approbation of bishops, where these characteristical properties were to be seen as well as at the public theatres. “And,” he concludes, “if it
 “be unlawful to sit and behold a mercenary comedian personating *that which*
 “*is least unseemly for an hireling to do*, how
 “much more blameful is it to endure
 “the sight of as vile things acted by persons, either entered, or presently to
 “enter, into the ministry! and how
 “much more foul and ignominious for
 “them to be the actors * !”

Is then Dr. Johnson's THEREFORE the introduction of a fair inference? or do slander and misrepresentation then only

* Apology, p. 213.

lose their malignity when delivered by the pen of Dr. Johnson?

Every page of the *new narrative* is full of mean flings and malevolent surmises on Milton's most indifferent actions, which it would be endless to remark with a proper reproof of each. We shall therefore only select a few of the most reprehensible, either on account of their want of candour, or want of veracity.

Page 24. It is thus written: "Let not
 "our veneration for Milton forbid us to
 "look with some degree of merriment
 "on great promises and small performances,
 "on the man who hastens home
 "because his countrymen are contending
 "for their liberty, and when he
 "reaches the scene of action vapours
 "away

“ away his patriotism in a private board-
 “ ing school.”

This sneer is derived from a reflection of Mr. Fenton, “ to whom it seemed
 “ wonderful that one, of so warm and
 “ daring a spirit as Milton’s certainly
 “ was, should be restrained from the
 “ camp in those unnatural commotions* ;
 “ and whence Dr. Johnson takes the li-
 “ berty to subsume : But Milton was re-
 “ strained from the camp, therefore his
 “ patriotism was vapoured away.”

But was there no scene of patriotic action but in the camp ? or will Dr. Johnson allow that Milton could have done more for the liberty of his coun-

* Fenton’s Life of Milton, p. x.

trymen with his sword than he did with his pen * ?

Philips informs us, that Milton arrived in England from his travels “about
“ the time of the King’s making his se-
“ cond expedition against the Scots † ;”

* Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non alia ratione, et operam multo utiliore, nec minore cum periculo, meis civibus navârim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maxime deditus, et ingenio semper quam corpore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, qua me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superâisset, ad ea me contuli quibus plus potui, ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si sciperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maxime possem momentum accederem.

Miltoni Defensio secunda pro Populo Anglicano, p. 366. vol. II. of Baron’s edition of his prose-works.

† Philips, p. xvi.

and

and so say Toland, Newton, &c; and it was in the very same year that Milton published his Discourses of Reformation in two books, founded on the same principles of liberty for which his countrymen were contending in the camp.

The same Mr. Philips says, that within the first two years that Milton inhabited the house which the *new narrative* dignifies with the name of *boarding-school* *, he set out not only the tract above-mentioned, but likewise the several treatises against Prelatical Episcopacy, on the Reason of Church-Govern-

* The expression was familiar to this writer:
 “ At Edial, near Litchfield, in Staffordshire,
 “ young gentlemen are *boarded*, and taught the
 “ Latin and Greek Languages, by SAMUEL
 “ JOHNSON.”

Advertisement in Gent. Mag. 1736, p. 428.

ment,

ment, Defence of Smeectymnus, and others.

Dr. Johnson will hardly deny that these patriotic pieces *vapoured* beyond the environs of Milton's boarding-school, even perhaps to the warmest *scene of action*, the Commons' House of Parliament: nor can we think he will (except in a fit of merriment) call them small performances, with respect to their effects; as he himself must know by experience the service that political pamphlets do to the faction their authors adhere to, when seasonably published. The merit of the faction, or of the author, is out of the question. We believe it will not be disputed, that Milton was as valuable a writer to the party he espoused,

espoused, as Dr. Johnson is to the present administration, though not (at the time referred to) *bought with a price*.

The Doctor says, “ This is a part of
 “ his life from which all his biographers
 “ seem inclined to shrink. They are un-
 “ willing that Milton should be degrad-
 “ ed to a school-master ; but since it can-
 “ not be denied that he taught boys, one
 “ finds out that he taught for nothing ;
 “ and another, that his motive was only
 “ zeal for the propagation of learning ;
 “ and all tell what they do not know to
 “ be true, only to excuse an act which no
 “ wise man will consider as in itself dis-
 “ graceful. His father was alive, his
 “ allowance was not ample, and he sup-
 E “ plied

“plied its deficiencies by an honest and
 “useful employment.”

This is said with more confidence than the Doctor's carelessness in consulting Milton's Biographers will justify. Philips is not *one* and *another*; and he is the only original from whom those who have apologised for Milton's employment in teaching youth have copied.

Whether Toland knew the particulars of Milton's motives, must be left to God and his own conscience; but to say that “Milton had no fordid or mercenary
 “purposes” will not imply that he *taught for nothing*.

Milton's friends are obliged to Dr. Johnson for doing credit to his supposed occupation of a schoolmaster; but To-

land had done it before him, whose remarks would hardly have been seconded in the *new narrative*, if the author had not had some fellow-feeling of the reproach of Milton's adversaries ; a circumstance that gave us some especial wonder that the Doctor should be so much *ashamed* of the whipping story retailed from Aubrey.

Concerning this part of Milton's Life, Mr. John Philips must, out of all comparison, be the most authentic historian : He was Milton's pupil from the beginning ; and they who attend to the series of facts in his account will perceive how much Dr. Johnson's speculations on *vagrant inattention*, *sluggish indifference*, and *absurd misapprehension*, introduced by way

of confuting those facts, might have been spared.

“We are told,” says the *new narrative*,
 “that in the art of education he per-
 “formed wonders; and a formidable list
 “is given of the authors Greek and
 “Latin that were read in Aldersgate-
 “street by *youth* between ten and fifteen
 “or sixteen years of age.” And then
 follows the wise observation, that “no-
 “body can be taught faster than he can
 “learn*.”

But who were these *youth*? Even his
 sister's two sons, (perhaps only one of
 them, the younger); as appears by what
 Philips says after he had specified the
formidable list.

* New Narrative, p. 27.

“Now persons,” says he, “so far ma-
 “nucted into the highest paths of lite-
 “rature, both divine and human, had
 “they received his documents with the
 “same acuteness of wit and appren-
 “sion, the same industry, alacrity, and
 “thirst after knowledge, as the instruc-
 “tor was indued with, what prodigies
 “of wit and learning might they have
 “proved! the scholars might, in some
 “degree, have come near to the equal-
 “ling the master, or at least have in
 “some sort made good what he seems to
 “predict in the close of an elegy he made
 “in the seventeenth year of his age,
 “upon the death of one of his sister’s
 “children (a daughter) who died in her

“infancy.” The last couplet of which elegy is,

This if thou do, he will an offspring
give

That to the world’s last end shall make
thy name to live*.

Hence it is clear that the persons *so manuducted* were only, at the most, the two Philippses, the offspring of Milton’s sister, whose name would be little connected with the proficiency of a promiscuous number of boys in a boarding-school.

In the next place, Mr. Philips is before-hand with Dr. Johnson in assigning the causes of the little comparative

* Philips, p. xix.

proficiency made by the persons so *manu-
ducted*; where common good-manners
would restrain him from taxing the he-
betude, the idleness, the indolence, and
indifference, of any students, except of
himself or his brother. And indeed it
plainly appears, that the “addition of
“some scholars *” was posterior to the
course of reading Milton went through
with his nephews, and was one of those
several occasions of increasing his family,
apparently after he had written the tracts
above-mentioned.

If Toland, and Milton's Biographers,
subsequent to Philips, made more of this
matter than Philips's history authorized,
we do not commend them. But it was

* Philips, p. xxi.

surely the business of a *new narrative* to correct their inaccuracies, and not invidiously to represent Milton as *performing wonders*, which it is not pretended by him, who knew the best, that he *did* perform; and then to shew the impracticability of the thing by remarks borrowed from his informer, and put upon the reader as the product of his own sagacity.

In another place the Doctor says *,
 “ From this wonder-working academy I
 “ do not know that there ever proceeded
 “ any man very eminent for knowledge;
 “ its only genuine product, I believe, is
 “ a small history of poetry, written in
 “ Latin by his nephew, of which per-

* Johnson, p. 31.

“ haps none of my readers has ever
 “ heard.”

Every writer may presume, conjecture, and believe, as much as he pleases in all cases where he cannot be contradicted ; and so may we. Our answers to this then are,

1. *Bernardus non vidit omnia.* There may have been men and things of which Dr. Johnson hath no knowledge. Wood says, *both* Milton's nephews were writers * ; and there may be still more genuine products of Milton's scholastic institution than Dr. Johnson ever heard of.

2. From this reflection it may be inferred, that Milton's pupils were not so

* Ath. Oxon, vol. I. Fasti, p. 263.

numerous as the Doctor's hypothesis requires they should have been.

3. The students in Milton's academy (being the sons of men of like spirit and principles with their master) would not, upon leaving his boarding-school, *vapour away* their patriotism in writing books; but proceed to *scenes of action* not very favourable to the Muses, or philosophical speculation.

Though some of Milton's pupils might, in the days of their maturity, write like angels, their performances in favour of Liberty would be execrated into obscurity and contempt, upon the turn of the times, by the able proficient in the noble science of licensing.

The Doctor, speaking of Milton's *Arcopagitica*, says, "The danger of
 "such unbounded liberty [of unlicensed
 "printing], and the danger of bound-
 "ing it, have produced a problem, in
 "the science of government, which *hu-*
 "man understanding seems unable to
 "solve *."

Let us then have recourse to a *divine*
understanding for the solution of it. *Let*
both the tares and the wheat grow toge-
ther till the harvest, lest while ye gather
up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with
them.

Next follows a curious see-saw of the
 arguments pro and con.

* New Narrative, p. 45.

" If

“ If nothing may be published but
 “ what civil authority have previously
 “ approved, power must always be the
 “ standard of truth.”

Would not one think that problem was
 thus solved at once? Is not this an al-
 ternative which even Dr. Johnson's pre-
 dilection for power would hardly admit?

Hold a little, till we have shewn you
 the evils on the other side.

“ If every dreamer of innovations may
 “ propagate his projects, there can be no
 “ settlement; if every murmurer at go-
 “ vernment may diffuse discontent, there
 “ can be no peace; if every sceptic in
 “ theology may teach his follies, there
 “ can be no religion.”

Is it not better that power should be the standard of truth, than that we should have no settlement, no peace, no religion?

But, says another writer, as honest a man, and at least as fair a reasoner, as Dr. Johnson, “If men were not to declare their opinions in spite of establishments either in church or state, truth would soon be banished the earth *;” and to this agrees John Milton. What is then to be done?

Why, says a moderator, punish the authors of these wicked publications; for Dr. Johnson tells you, “It is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of

* Dedication of the *Essay on Spirit*.

“opinions which that society shall think
 “pernicious.”

We could mention very good sort of men, and no fools, who would not *allow* this to *every* society. But be this as it may, this allowance does not satisfy our Biographer; for, says he, “This punishment, though it may crush the author,
 “promotes the book; and it seems not
 “more reasonable to leave the right of
 “printing unrestrained, because writers
 “may be afterwards censured, than it
 “would be to sleep with our doors un-
 “bolted, because by our laws we can
 “hang a thief.” The conclusion is, hang every man who prints or publishes without a license.

Hardy

Hardy must be the man who can publish this sophistry with so many contradictory facts staring him in the face. And distressing must be the dilemma which obliges Dr. Johnson to admit either that the minority have propagated no projects of innovation, diffused no discontents by murmuring at government; or that his friends the ministers of state have not been able to protect the settlement, and keep the public peace. If there can be no religion upon the supposition that every sceptic may teach his follies, I am afraid the Doctor himself can have no religion; for such sceptics may and do teach their follies every day with all freedom.

Perhaps

Perhaps times and seasons might be noted in some old almanac when the good Doctor himself stole some trifles into the world through the press, which did not much favour the legal settlement of the crown, or tend to abate the discontents of the people.

Had the minister of the day, who then slept with his doors unbolted, caught the thief with the dark-lanthorn in his pocket, and consigned him over to the constable, the culprit undoubtedly would have availed himself of Milton's plea, and we should have heard with a vengeance of the wicked enmity of power to the cause of truth and loyalty. But pensions and preferments are wonderful enlighteners; and the free circulation

lation of sedition during the last reign, when many an honest Jacobite propagated his discontents without the least apprehension for his ears, is now become a pernicious policy, unworthy of the wisdom and dignity of an administration under the protection of the respectable Dr. Samuel Johnson.

It is observable, that Milton addressed his noble tract, intituled, Areopagitica, to an antimonarchical parliament, from which he expected the reformation of all the errors and encroachments of the late kingly and prelatical government. He was above the little dirty prejudices or pretences that they might be trusted with power, only because he approved of the men, or depended upon their fa-

vour to himself. He had his eye only on the cause, and when the Presbyterians deserted that, he deserted them, not out of humour, as this rancorous Biographer would insinuate *; but because they fainted in the progress of that work to the completion of which their first avowed principles would have led them.

Would Dr. Johnson have chosen to have submitted his works to the licensers appointed by such a parliament? or would he venture to expostulate with the pow-

* See some sensible and masterly reflections on the subject in Dr. Moore's *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*. See likewise Gilbert Mabbot's reasons for desiring to be dismissed from the office of Licenser. Toland's *Life of Milton*, Mr. Hollis's edition, p. 57.

ers in being on any point of literary privilege, wherein he should think them essentially wrong, with that generous and honest freedom that Milton exhibits in this incomparable tract? No, he sneaks away from the question, and leaves it as he found it.

“As faction seldom leaves a man honest,” says the Doctor, p. 51, “however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called Icon Basilike, which the council of state, to whom he was now made Latin Secretary, employed him to censure, by inserting a prayer, &c.”

The contexture of this sentence seems to be a little embarrassed: and to leave us under some uncertainty whether Milton

“ interpolated by inserting,” or whether he was “ employed to censure by inserting, &c.”

Milton, however, it seems, was “ suspected of inserting, in the Icon Basilike, a prayer taken from Sidney’s Arcadia, and imputing it to the King, whom he charges, in his Iconoclastes, with the use of this prayer, as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to insult all that is venerable and great.”

Does the Doctor mean to say, that these *advocates for rebellion* insulted the venerable and great Creator of all things, or that there was nothing venerable and great but King Charles I. and his appurtenances?

tenances? The imputation of blasphemy on the one side or the other is unavoidable.

After which follows the citation from the Iconoclastes, where the imputation and the grounds of it are fairly and openly told. Now for the proof of the interpolation.

“ The papers which the King gave to
 “ Dr. Juxon, on the scaffold, the regicides
 “ took away, so that they were at least
 “ the publishers of this prayer.”

Let us parallel this with an inference from another scrap of English history.

“ The ministry took away Mr. Wilkes’s
 “ papers, among which was said to be
 “ the Essay on Woman; so that the mi-
 “ nisters were at least the publishers of

“ that Essay ; and, considering the num-
 “ bers of poets they have always at their
 “ beck, why may they not be suspected
 “ as the forgers of it ?”

So reasoned Mr. Wilkes's friends in
 the year 1763. Dr. Johnson knows what
 the ministerial writers replied ; and let
 that suffice for an answer to this presump-
 tive proof of Milton's dishonesty. But,

“ Dr. Birch, who examined the ques-
 “ tion with great care, was inclined to
 “ think them [the Regicides] the forg-
 “ ers.”

Dr. Birch's examination, careful as
 the Doctor represents it, was blameably
 partial in not giving Toland's confuta-
 tion of Dr. Gill's tale its full strength ;
 and indeed the examination seems to have
 been

been unsatisfactory to Birch himself, by its being left out of his Life of Milton, prefixed to the quarto edition of Milton's prose-works.

Lauder however affirms, that, “in Dr.
“ Birch's opinion, Milton was not guilty
“ of the crime charged upon him; Mil-
“ ton and Bradshaw too, in the Doctor's
“ opinion, being persons of more honour
“ than to be guilty of putting so vile a
“ trick upon the King *.”

Lauder perhaps had this declaration from Dr. Birch's own mouth; it is confirmed however by the following reflection, in the quarto edition of Milton's Life by Birch, p. xxxiii.

* Lauder's Vindication, p. 37.

“ It is highly improbable that Milton
 “ and Bradshaw should make Hills * their
 “ confident unnecessarily in such an affair;
 “ and laugh in his presence at their im-
 “ posing such a cheat upon the world;
 “ or that he should conceal it during the
 “ life of the former, who survived the

* It is objected, to the testimony of Hills, that he turned papist in the reign of James II. and we find him characterized by Dunton, *Papish Hills stationer to James II.* He made an atonement, however, after the Revolution, by printing several single sermons of the most eminent preachers of that time, many of them against Popery, on vile paper and print, for pence a piece, to the great comfort and convenience of minute divines in country churches. Dr. Taylor late Chancellor of Lincoln, in the poetical part of his music-speech, delivered at the public commencement at Cambridge, in 1730, has the following couplet:

Then moulds his scanty Latin and less Greek,
 And *Harry Hills* his parish once a week.

“ Resto-

“ Restoration so many years. So that
 “ such a testimony from such a person
 “ is not to be admitted against a man
 “ who, as his learned and ingenious edi-
 “ tor [Bp. Newton] observes, had a soul
 “ above being guilty of so mean an
 “ action.”

But let us examine this tale on another side :

Wagstaffe * affirms, on the authority
 of the writer of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*,
 &c.

* We are uncertain what became of Mr. Wag-
 staffe, who published the Vindication of King
 Charles the Martyr, &c. the third edition of
 which appeared in 1711. We have been inform-
 ed, that he attached himself to the old preten-
 der, in quality of chaplain to his protestant non-
 juring adherents. We suppose it was his son who
 officiated in that capacity at the Santi Apostoli,
 and died at Rome about 1774 or 1775. This
 latter

&c. that “the Regicides immediately
 “seized Dr. Juxon, imprisoned him,
 “and examined him with all possible

latter had so warm a zeal for orthodoxy, and against schismatics, that he refused, though much intreated, to read the burial-service over the corpse of a Danish gentleman, a protestant, who died at Rome about the year 1762 or 63, and left that office to be performed by a worthy clergyman, chaplain to an English nobleman then at Rome, from whom we had this account. It is customary, when any English Protestant dies at Rome, for any of his acquaintance, though a layman, of the same religion, to read the burial-service over his corpse. When Wagstaffe himself died, he was carried to the unhallowed cœmety of heretics, where it was expected by the British attendants that the service would be read over the deceased by his fellow loyalist Mr. Murray, his compatriot, and of the same church. The worthy old gentleman (for worthy he is known to be), for some reason or other, declined the office, saying to the grave-digger, *Cover him up, Cover him up.* This Mr. Wagstaffe is said to have been a man of letters, and to have left behind him a collection of curious and valuable books.

“rigour,

“rigour, and searched him narrowly for
 “all papers that he might have from
 “the King, even to scraps and par-
 “cels *.”

All this is manifest forgery. Bp. Juxon was neither seized nor imprisoned, nor searched for any papers; nor were any papers required of him but one; of which we have the following account in Fuller's Church History:

“His Majesty being upon the scaffold,
 “held in his hand a small piece of pa-
 “per, some four inches square, contain-
 “ing heads whereon in his speech he in-
 “tended to dilate; and a tall soldier, look-
 “ing over the King's shoulders, read it,
 “as the King held it in his hand.—His

* Birch, folio, p. lxxxii.

“speech

“ speech ended, he gave that small pa-
 “ per to the Bp. of London. After his
 “ death, the officers demanded the paper
 “ of the Bishop, who, because of the
 “ depth of his pocket, smallness of the
 “ paper, and the mixture of others
 “ therewith, could not so soon produce
 “ it as was required. At last he brought
 “ it forth; but therewith the others were
 “ unsatisfied [jealousy is quick of growth],
 “ as not the same which his Majesty de-
 “ livered unto him. When presently
 “ the soldier, whose rudeness” [the bad
 cause of a good effect] “ had formerly
 “ over-inspected it in the King’s hand,
 “ attested this the very same paper, and
 “ prevented farther suspicions, which
 “ might

“ might have terminated to the Bishop’s
 “ trouble *.”

The Bishop then was no farther troubled than by the officer’s demanding this single paper. All the rest he carried off in the depth of his pocket. If any thing more troublesome had happened to the Bishop upon the occasion, Fuller would certainly have known it, and would as certainly have recorded it; for he takes him up again in his *Worthies of England*.

Other accounts say, that the Bishop afterwards retired to his own manor of Little Compton in Gloucestershire, where he sometimes rode a hunting for his

* Fuller’s Church History, p. penult.

health ;

health ; a certain sign that he had no great molestation from the ruling party*.

Milton says, the King “ bequeathed
 “ this prayer among his deifying friends
 “ to be published by them.” And published it actually was, *twice* if not *thrice*, before Milton’s Iconoclastes appeared ; which, according to Wagstaffe, was not till November 7, 1649. The proper inference from which premises, compared with Fuller’s circumstantial and candid account, is, that all these prayers remained with Dr. Juxon till his communication of them to the King’s friends occasioned their being published.

The author of Clamor Regii Sanguinis, &c. as Englished by Wagstaffe,

* Wood, Athen. Ox. vol. II. p. 1145.

says, “ The Bishop being brought be-
 “ fore the King’s judges, was command-
 “ ed by them, not without dreadful me-
 “ naces, to reveal the meaning of the
 “ word *Remember*, repeated to him twice
 “ by the King upon the scaffold.” †

To this latter charge Milton replies,
 “ I will not deny that the Bishop might
 “ be interrogated by one or other of
 “ these judges, by the way, concerning
 “ this matter ; but I do not find that he
 “ was convened on purpose by the coun-
 “ cil, or the high court of justice, as if
 “ they all of them troubled themselves
 “ about it, or were solicitous to know
 “ it *.”

* *Defensio Secunda*, p. 391. ed. 1753, Quarto.

From Milton's silence it might perhaps be suspected, that the Bishop was under some sort of confinement, were it not that on the 7th of February we find him at full liberty, attending the King's funeral at Windsor, and standing ready with a Common-prayer-book to read the burial-office over the royal corpse *.

But what is beyond a thousand surmises, accumulated by Wagstaffe and others, to prove Milton's first publishing this prayer as selected by King Charles, for his own use, is the dead silence of Bp. Juxon from this period to the time of his death. If his timidity during the Interregnum prevailed with him to conceal the forgery, his fears must be at

* Biographia Britannica, Juxon, Rem. [C.]

an end at the Restoration. The prayer had been published as King Charles's over and over during that interval; Milton's reproach was equally and repeatedly made public. Yet this worthy Bishop suffers this prayer to be published in a collection of King Charles's works in the year 1662, without giving the least hint of the forgery, imputed afterwards to Milton and Bradshaw.

Let Dr. Johnson then make what he can of the *adaptation* of this prayer to the case of King Charles; but let not his splenetic prejudice against Milton associate him with such a driveling crew, such a despicable groupe of knights of the post, as would persuade the world that Milton wanted the aid of such piti-

ful forgeries as they themselves occasionally practised to support the noblest of all employments, the defence of public liberty against tyrants and oppressors.

The Doctor's account of Milton's dispute with Salmastius we shall pass by, and leave his criticisms on some Latin expressions on either side to those who have not forgotten a *trade*, which, in some degree or other, is, or should be, original to every good writer, namely, the *trade of a Grammarian*. No man has exercised this trade with more emolument than Dr. Johnson, would he allow us to say, that in his political pamphlets “the rights of nations and kings sink
“into a laborious solicitude for the
“choice

“choice of words and modes of expression.”

Milton's answer to Salmasius was much read, and it is no disparagement to his arguments that they appeared bad to a man of Hobbes's principles, or paradoxical in Dr. Johnson's ideas *.

But, however, the Doctor thought himself obliged to account for this depravity of taste in the numerous readers of Milton's defense, which he does in this way:

“Paradox,” says our Biographer, “recommended by spirit and elegance, easily gains attention; and he who told every man that he was equal to his King, could hardly want an audience *.”

* Life, p. 56.

The paradox then is *that every man is equal to his King*. But where has Milton told this? or is it to Dr. Johnson's misapprehension of Milton's state of the case, or to his propensity to calumniate, that we owe this false and rancorous insinuation?

That every man is not equal, but superior, to his *Tyrant*, is a proposition which has been demonstrated over and over, before Milton was born; and if Milton espoused it, and made it better understood by a notorious example, he served his generation in a most material article of their social happiness. The next generation had the spirit and good sense to profit by his doctrine; and by virtue of it drove their Tyrant into an ignominious exile.

Milton's

Milton's attachment to Cromwell has been imputed to him as a blot in his character long before it was taken up by Dr. Johnson; who, to give him his due, has made the most of it in a small compass.

“Milton,” says he, “having tasted the
 “honey of public employment, would
 “not return to hunger and philosophy;
 “but, continuing to exercise his office
 “under a manifest usurpation, betrayed
 “to his power that liberty which he had
 “defended.”

It is hardly necessary to apprise a reader of Milton's prose-works that his ideas of *usurpation* and *public liberty* were very different from those of Dr. Johnson. In the Doctor's system of government public liberty is the *free grace* of an *heredi-*

tary monarch, and limited in kind and degree, by his gracious will and pleasure; and consequently to controul his arbitrary acts by the interposition of good and wholesome laws is a *manifest usurpation* upon his prerogative. Milton allotted to the people a considerable and important share in political government, founded upon original stipulations for the rights and privileges of free subjects, and called the monarch who should infringe or encroach upon these, however qualified by lineal succession, a tyrant and an usurper, and freely consigned him to the vengeance of an injured people. Upon Johnson's plan, there can be no such thing as public liberty. Upon Milton's, where the laws are duly executed,

cuted, and the people protected in the peaceable and legal enjoyment of their lives, properties, and municipal rights and privileges, there can be no such thing as *usurpation*, in whose hands soever the executive power should be lodged. From this doctrine Milton never swerved; and in that noble apostrophe to Cromwell, in his Second Defense of the people of England, he spares not to remind him, what a wretch and a villain he would be, should he invade those liberties which his valour and magnanimity had restored. If, after this, Milton's employers deviated from *his* idea of their duty, be it remembered, that he was neither in their secrets, nor an instrument in their arbitrary acts or encroach-

ments on the legal rights of the subject; many (perhaps the most) of which were to be justified by the necessity of the times, and the malignant attempts of those who laboured to restore that wicked race of despotic rulers, the individuals of which had uniformly professed an utter enmity to the claims of a free people, and had acted accordingly, in perfect conformity to Dr. Johnson's political creed. On another hand, be it observed, that in those State-letters, latinized by Milton, which remain, and in those particularly written in the name of the Protector Oliver, the strictest attention is paid to the dignity and importance of the British nation, to the protection of trade, and the Protestant religion, by spirited

rited expostulations with foreign powers
 on any infraction of former treaties, in a
 style of steady determination, of which
 there have been few examples in subse-
 quent times. A certain sign in what
 esteem the British government was held
 at that period by all the other powers of
 Europe. And as this was the only pro-
 vince in which Milton acted under that
 government which Dr. Johnson calls an
 usurpation, let his services be compared
 with those performed by Dr. Johnson for
 his present patrons; and let the consti-
 tutional subject of the British empire
 judge which of them better deserves
 the appellation of a traitor to public
 liberty, or have more righteously earned
 the *honey* of a pension.

The real *usurper* is the wicked ruler over a poor people, by whatever means the power falls into his hands. And whenever it happens that the *imperium ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur*, the subject is or should be too much interested in the fact to consider any character of the rejected ruler but his vicious ambition, the violence and injustice of his counsels, and the flagitious acts by which they were executed.

These petulant reflections of the Doctor on Milton, might, many of them, easily be answered by recrimination; we have often wondered, in running over this *new narrative*, that the consciousness of the historian's heart did not disable his hand for recording several things

to

to the reproach of Milton, which rebound with double force on his own notorious conduct. Has he always believed that the government of the House of Hanover was less an usurpation than that of Oliver Cromwell? Having tasted the honey of a pension for writing ministerial pamphlets, would he feel no regret in returning once more to hunger and philosophy?

The Doctor perhaps will tell us, that he is in no danger of starving, even though his pension should be suspended to-morrow. Be it so; and by what kind of proof will he shew that Milton had no means of earning his bread but his political employment?

Milton

Milton however made the experiment which happily Dr. Johnson has not ; and that too after the Restoration ; and resisted the temptations of court-favour, and the solicitations of his wife to accept of it, with a magnanimity which would do him honour with any man but the author of the *new narrative*.

Milton's reason for rejecting this offer was, that " his wish was to live and die " an honest man." But, says the Doctor, " If he considered the Latin Secretary as exercising any of the powers of " government, he that had shared authority, either with the parliament or " Cromwell, might have forbore to talk " very loudly of his honesty," p. 91.

The

The venom of this remark happens to be too weak to do any mischief. Casuists of all sects and complexions have done justice to the honesty of men who adhered to their principles and persuasions, though they might judge wrong in the choice of them.

He goes on, “And if he thought the
“office ministerial only, he certainly
“might have *honestly* retained it under
“the King.” Not quite so *certainly*.

But Milton’s and Dr. Johnson’s notions of *honesty* are so widely different, that we cannot admit the Doctor to estimate Milton’s honesty by his own scale. In the end, however, he questions the fact.

“But this tale has too little evidence
“to deserve a disquisition : large offers
“and

“and sturdy rejections are among the
 “most common topicks of falsehood.”

That is, in plain unaffected English,

“No man could ever reject a large of-

“fer, though on conditions ever so re-

“pugnant to his professed principles.”

But the Doctor is but an individual, and his experience from his own particular case will not be admitted as the standard of other men's integrity; and yet this is the only reason he gives for rejecting this anecdote, so honourable to Milton.

Milton's attachment to Cromwell was evidently founded on different considerations. The narrowness of the Presbyterians in their notions of Liberty, and particularly of religious liberty, had appeared upon many occasions. He more
 than

than hints, in his Areopagitica, their inclination to govern by the episcopal and oppressive maxims of the Stuart race. He saw and abhorred their attempts to shackle the faith of Protestants and Christians in the bonds of systems, confessions, tests, and subscriptions.

Cromwell's plan was of a more generous complexion; and Milton's Sonnet *,

* TO O. CROMWELL.

CROMWELL, our Chief of Men, that through a
 Not of war only, but distractions rude, [crowd,
 (Guided by Faith and matchless Fortitude)
 To Peace and Truth thy glorious way hast plow'd,
 And fought God's battles, and his works pursu'd,
 While Darwent streams with blood of Scots im-
 And Dunbar field resound thy praises loud, [bru'd,
 And Worcester's laureat wreath. Yet much re-
 To conquer still: Peace has her victories [mains
 No less than those of War. New foes arise,
 Threat'ning to bind our Souls in secular chains:
 Help us to save free conscience from the paw
 Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

addressed

addressed to him, was evidently a compliment founded on the expectation that he would lay the ground-work of a free toleration in matters of religion, without which he saw (what Dr. Johnson never will see) that civil liberty can never be established upon its proper basis. Milton's adherence to Cromwell, therefore, was founded on the most liberal views; and while there was a prospect of realizing the idea, was certainly irreprehensible.

Dr. Johnson however, in spite of every presumption to the contrary, will have Milton's agency in political matters to have been considered as of great importance.

“ When

“ When a treaty,” says the Doctor,
 “ with Sweden was artfully suspended,
 “ the delay was publicly imputed to Mr.
 “ Milton’s indisposition; and the Swedish
 “ agent was provoked to express his
 “ wonder, that only one man in Eng-
 “ land could write Latin, and that man
 “ blind *.”

But Whitelock, who was a principal
 hand in negotiating this treaty, instead
 of pleading Milton’s indisposition for the
 delay, only says, “ the employment of
 “ Mr. Milton” [to translate the treaty]
 “ was excused to him” [the Swedish am-
 bassador] “ because several other servants
 “ of the council, fit for that employ-
 “ ment, were then absent.” Here then

* Milton’s Life, p. 68.

the narrative is absolutely *new*, both with respect to the importance of Milton's agency, and the reason given of the delay.

It is remarkable, that, in depreciating such of Milton's writings as thwart Dr. Johnson's political notions, the censure is always accompanied with some evil imputation upon the writer's head or his heart. He observes of his serious tracts in general, that *Hell grows darker at his frown*; borrowing, to make his abuse more tasty, an expression from Milton himself. In his treatises *of civil power in ecclesiastical cases*, and *of the means of removing hirelings out of the church*, "He gratified his malevolence to the clergy." In writing his pamphlet called,

A ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, “He was fantastical enough
 “to think, that the nation, agitated as
 “it was, might be settled by it;” and
 his notes upon a sermon of Dr. Griffiths,
 “were foolish, and the effect of *kicking*
 “when he could not *strike*.”

If controversial fame were thus to be purchased, Dr. Johnson might be esteemed the first of writers in that province, for no man ever expressed his abuse in a more inimitable style of abuse. And though he may sometimes create suspicions that he has either never read, or does not understand the writings he so peremptorily censures; yet the vehicle is pleasing, and the reputation he has gained by his labours of more general

utility precludes all examination, and he expects his scandalous chronicle should be licensed and received upon his own bare word.

“For Milton to complain of evil
“tongues,” says the Doctor, “required
“impudence at least equal to his other
“powers; Milton, whose warmest ad-
“vocates must allow, that he never
“spared any asperity of reproach, or bru-
“tality of insolence.”

Milton wrote in a public contest for public liberty: and he generally in that contest was upon the *defensive*. The asperity of his reproaches seldom exceeded the asperity of the wickedness upon which those reproaches were bestowed.

Brutality

Brutality is a word of an ill found, and required some instances to justify the imputation of it. When these are given, we will readily join issue in the trial, whether Milton or his adversaries were the more brutal or more insolent. They who would reduce mankind to a *brutal* slavery, under the despotism of a lawless tyrant, forfeit all claim to the rationality of human beings; and no tongue can be called *evil* for giving them their proper appellation.

Neither Dr. Johnson nor we can pretend, at this distance of time, to assign the precise causes of Milton's complaint. Evil tongues are common in all times; our histories inform us, that the times of Charles II. were not *good*. Milton per-

haps is not unhappy in being out of the reach of the present times; but whether he is, even in the present times, out of the reach of evil tongues, let the readers of the *new narrative* candidly judge.

Impudence is an attribute with which our Biographer hath qualified Milton more than once; and it seems to have shocked the *modesty* of Dr. Johnson that a blemish of that kind should deform the character of his hero.

Parcius ista, good Doctor! *Novimus et qui te*—But Churchill and Kenrick are no more, and the Doctor may easily annihilate their authority by writing *new narratives* of what they were.

There is however, it seems, one of Milton's prose-tracts, in which the Doctor

tor finds *no impudence* ; it is his treatise of *True Religion, heresy, schism, toleration, and the best means to prevent the growth of popery.*

“ This little tract,” says he, “ is modestly written, with respectful mention of the Church of England and the thirty-nine articles.”

True, so far as the Church of England declares against Popery. But, unhappily for this *respect*, Milton brings these declarations in reproof of the church’s practice ; and most ably confutes the pretence of the Church of England, “ that she only enjoins things in-different.” And even this he calls persecution.

“ If it be asked,” says Milton, “ how
 “ far it should be tolerated? I answer,
 “ doubtless equally, as being all Protef-
 “ tants; that is, on all occasions to give
 “ account of their faith, either by ar-
 “ guing, preaching in their several as-
 “ semblies, public writing, and the free-
 “ dom of printing.”

If such toleration should have its free
 course, unrestrained by canons, subscrip-
 tions, and uniformity-acts, unallured by
 temporal emoluments, and untterrified
 by temporal censures, there must of
 course be an end of the civil Establish-
 ment of the Church of England; which
 is here as effectually condemned, as it is
 in those former tracts of the author's in
 which he is so severe on prelatical usur-
 pations.

pations. The only difference is, that there, in the Doctor's account, he is impudent, and here he is modest.

“Fortune,” says the Doctor, “appears not to have had much of Milton's care *.” How is this character supported by the instances that follow, consistently with the account above given, that Milton, “having tasted the honey of public employment, *would not return to hunger and philosophy ?*”

“There is yet no reason to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence †;” and we will add, “nor to the prospect of it;” for what the Doctor says, that he was “given up to

* Milton's Life, p. 137.

† Ibid. p. 136.

“poverty

“poverty and hopeless indignation,” upon his soliciting the repayment of his loan to the parliament in vain, only serves to shew how dextrously the Doctor can fill up the chasms of authentic history by the fertility of his imagination. And that “his wants being few, were competently supplied,” is an argument that he could as easily return to his philosophy as part with his affluence.

From this character of Milton the Doctor would shrink if he could, and put down the merit of it among the *topics of falsehood*; but his draw-backs upon it only end in furnishes palpably inconsistent with that unabated constancy of mind in Milton, which even the *new narrative* could not disguise; an
 obser-

observation which belongs to more articles of this remarkable composition than this before us.

The Doctor's next debate with himself is concerning Milton's religion. The appearances in this part of Milton's history puzzled Mr. Peck before him, who, after decently drawing the saw to and again, fixes Milton in Quakerism.

Dr. Johnson seems to think he was of no church, merely, as it should seem, because he was neither of the Church of Rome, nor of the Church of England.

If not, to what purpose is the following reflection?

“To be of no church is dangerous.

“Religion, of which the rewards are

“distant,

“distant, and which is animated only
 “by faith and hope, will glide by de-
 “grees out of the mind, unless it be in-
 “vigorated and reimpresed by external
 “ordinances, by stated calls to worship,
 “and the salutary influence of exam-
 “ple *.”

The mere cant of every popish forma-
 list, who sets himself to shew that images
 are the books of the ignorant; and that
 without them the common people can
 have no religion.

We cannot admit even Dr. Johnson's
 experience to decide this matter for us;
 who indeed hath immediately destroyed
 his own hypothesis, by acknowledging
 that Milton, who associated with no par-

* Life, p. 140.

ticular church, “ appears to have had
 “ full conviction of the truth of Christi-
 “ anity ; to have regarded the holy scrip-
 “ tures with the profoundest veneration ;
 “ to have been untainted with any here-
 “ tical peculiarity of opinion ; and to
 “ have lived in a confirmed belief of the
 “ immediate and occasional agency of
 “ Providence.”

“ And yet, he grew old without any
 “ *visible* worship.” Does it follow from
 hence, that Milton grew old without any
 worship at all ?

Yes, truly, such is the conclusion.
 “ In the distribution of his hours there
 “ was no hour of prayer, either solitary
 “ or with his household ; omitting pub-
 “ lic

“lic prayer, he omitted all.” And then he proceeds to account for it.

But these particulars, wherever the Doctor got them, must have come from persons who had no more honest business in John Milton’s closet than Dr. Johnson himself, who never came there, nor can possibly know what was done, or what was omitted in it. If “his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer,” what occasion had he for a stated hour, which, being a circumstance in the *visible* worship of a private man, may as soon be a token of pharisaical ostentation or popish superstition as of cordial piety!

Nor perhaps would Milton have accepted of Dr. Johnson’s apology for his omission of family worship, or have acknowledged

knowned it to be a fault. Milton perhaps might think it sufficient to teach his family to pray for themselves ; *every one as he or she should know the plague of his or her own heart.* Milton had doubtless known, by experience, how incongruous it was to trust his own prayers to the mouth of another man ; and he might think it equally improper in him to dictate to the individuals of his family prayers unfuitable, for aught he could know without auricular confession, to their several cases.

All this however is mere speculation on one side and the other. We learn from a tale of Richardson's, that one of his family at least attended public worship ;

ship ; and more of them might, for any thing the Doctor knows to the contrary.

The Doctor next attacks Milton's political character.

“ His political notions were those of
“ an acrimonious and surly republican.”

When an honest man has occasion to characterise his enemy, particularly in matters of opinion, he should keep a strict watch over himself, that his prejudices do not transport him to imputations which are either false, or may be retorted upon himself.

The world would have given Dr. Johnson credit for his inveterate hatred of republican notions, without his qualifying them with the epithets of *acrimonious* and *surly*, as exhibited by Milton, whose

whose defenders might, with equal justice at least, call him an *acrimonious and surly Royalist*.

But was Dr. Johnson's quarrel with Milton's notions merely that they were republican, that is to say, notions adverse to kingly government? Hath he *always* revered kings as such, kings *de facto*, or kings only so and so qualified?

We confess ourselves to be of that class of men who are willing to receive instruction from all quarters; and the news-paper of the day being just brought in, we learn, from an extract in it from Dr. Johnson's Life of Smith, that Gilbert Walmfley was a Whig with all the virulence and malevolence of his party, and

I that

that the Doctor was of different notions and opinions*.

But we are well informed, that Mr. Walmfley was no republican, but strongly attached in principle to the succession of the House of Hanover. If for this attachment he was, in Dr. Johnson's esteem, a virulent and malevolent Whig, we should be glad to know what precisely are those notions and opinions wherein he differed from his friend Walmfley? Perhaps at the bottom the grudge is no more than that neither Milton nor Walmfley would allow Dr. Johnson to chuse a King for them.

“It is not known,” says the Doctor, “that Milton gave any better reason

* St. James's Chronicle, July 31, 1779.

“ [for

“ [for his republican notions] than that a
 “ popular government was the most frugal;
 “ for that the trappings of a monarchy
 “ would set up an ordinary Common-
 “ wealth *.”

In the Εικων Βασιλικη King Charles
 says, or is made to say, “ that Kings
 “ are the greatest patrons of law, justice,
 “ order, and religion, on earth.”

To this Milton replies, “ What pa-
 “ trons they be God in scripture oft
 “ enough hath exprest; and the earth
 “ itself hath too long groaned under the
 “ burden of their injustice, disorder, and
 “ irreligion †.”

A plain man would think this a better
 reason, if true, for a republican govern-

* Life, p. 143.

† Iconoclastes, chap. xxviii.

ment, than merely the expence of monarchy. But let the Biographer have his way.

“ It is surely a very narrow policy that
 “ supposes money to be the chief good.”
 But it is as surely asserted by us, that no
modest man can find any such position in
 all Milton’s works. The political maxim,
 that money is *not* the chiefest good,
 would stand with a much fairer face in
 the tract intitled, “ Taxation no Ty-
 “ ranny,” in order to prevail with the
 people to bleed freely, and submit chear-
 fully to the pecuniary demands of the
 ministry ; for that the expence of a court
 is “ for the most part only a particular
 “ kind of traffick, by which money is
 “ circulated without any national impo-
 “ verishment.”

Critical aphorisms should be universally and unequivocally true, unlimited by such insertions, as, *for the most part*. The expence of a court is an expression relative to a thousand articles beyond what Milton called the trappings of monarchy. Admit that a traffic, not detrimental to the nation, might be carried on with those who furnish the articles comprehended in what is called the civil list, yet are those articles all the traffic which comes within the description of the “expence of a court?” Have we not heard, some centuries ago, of trafficking with court-money and court-honey, for courtly votes, and courtly essays, to countenance and abet courtly encroachments; wherein a reciprocation of profit

is stipulated upon the evangelical terms of *Give, and it shall be given unto you?*

In the common estimation of the world individuals are impoverished by their debts; and it would be strange if national debt should have no tendency to national poverty; and it would be still stranger, if, when the account of our own debts come to be audited, no part of them should appear to have been contracted by the *expence of a court*.

Dr. Johnson is afraid that Milton's republicanism was founded “in an envious
 “hatred of greatness, and a fullen desire
 “of independence; in petulance, impatient of controul; and pride, disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the state, and prelates in the
 “church;

“ church; for he hated all whom he was
 “ required to obey: It is to be suspected,
 “ that his predominant desire was to de-
 “ stroy, rather than to establish, and
 “ that he felt not so much the love of
 “ liberty, as repugnance to authority.”

Great is the witchcraft of words, and
 it prevaieth! How many readers will
 be imposed upon by this unmanly abuse
 of Milton, who will never consider that
 the following character is at least equally
 true of his calumniator!

“ It is to be feared that ——’s loyalty
 “ was founded on an idolatrous veneration
 “ of greatness, and an abject fond-
 “ ness for dependance; in sycophantry,
 “ impatient of hunger and philosophy,
 “ and in a meanness disdainful of no lu-

“ crative drudgery. He loved Kings
 “ in the state, because he loved all who
 “ paid him for his services ; and Bishops
 “ in the church, from a consciousness of
 “ wanting absolution. It is to be sus-
 “ pected, that his predominant desire
 “ was, to destroy public liberty, rather
 “ than to establish legal authority, and
 “ that he felt not so much anxiety for
 “ the real honour of princes, as delight
 “ in the slavish humiliation of their sub-
 “ jects.”

Of all the writers upon political sub-
 jects, Milton left the least room for *fears*
 and *suspensions*. He is open and explicit
 in all his reproofs of lawless power and
 oppression, civil and ecclesiastical. Envy
 at greatness and superiority in Milton's
 situation,

situation, would necessarily have implied his constant endeavour to attain the greatness and superiority he envied. His addresses to the Parliament are undeniable testimonies of his readiness to submit to every ordinance of man which was not *a terror to good works*; and the only difference between Milton's system of government and Dr. Johnson's is, that the former seated the laws above the King; and the latter enthrones the monarch above the laws.

Some portions of common sense however are yet left among us. Witness the following remark, transcribed from the news-paper above cited.

“ With what *emphasis* do ministers
 “ and men in power pronounce the words

“ SER-

“ SERVICE and OBEY ! and how great and
 “ respectable do they think themselves
 “ when they say, THE KING MY MASTER !
 “ They despise the republicans, who
 “ only are free, and who are certainly
 “ more noble than they.”

In conclusion, the good Doctor turns
 evesdropper ; and, to warn the public
 against the principles of the miscreant
 Milton, condescends to inform us of
 what passed in the domestic privacies of
 his family. “ Milton’s character, in his
 “ domestic relations, was severe and ar-
 “ bitrary.” How does he know this ?
 “ His family consisted of women,” he
 tells you, “ and there appears, in his
 “ books, something like a Turkish con-
 “ tempt of females, as subordinate and
 “ in-

“inferior beings.” A most heinous offence ! enough to muster the whole multitude of English Amazons against him. But the question is not concerning what is in his books, but what passed in his kitchen and parlour. We want instances ; and here they are : “ That his
 “ own daughters might not break the
 “ ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education.”

The impudence of Belial would be abashed at so gross a misrepresentation. Milton’s daughters grew impatient of reading what they did not understand ; this impatience “ broke out more and
 “ more into expressions of uneasiness.”
 What had they now to expect from their

Turkish

Turkish father? what! but stripes and imprisonment in a dark chamber, and a daily pittance of bread and water. No such matter. They were relieved from their task, and “sent out to learn some
 “curious and ingenious sorts of manu-
 “facture that were proper for women
 “to learn, particularly imbroideries in
 “gold and silver *.” And how far this branch of education was from being either mean or penurious in those days, the remains of these curious and ingenious works, performed by accomplished females of the highest and noblest extraction, testify to this very day.

To account for this tyranny of Milton over his females, the Doctor says, “He

* Philips, p. xliii.

“thought

“thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion*.”

In the first member of this quaint antithesis the Doctor perhaps did not guess far amiss at Milton's *thought*. He seems to have been of St. Paul's opinion, that “women were made for obedience.” But Paul and Milton had different ideas of rebellion from those of Dr. Johnson. That Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were *rebels* in Dr. Johnson's scale, no one can doubt. And yet they had certainly an equal right to insist upon the privileges of Englishmen against Dr. Laud and his assessors, as Paul had to plead those of a Roman citizen against

* Life, p. 144.

the chief captain Lyfias; and even to require that the said Archbishop should repair to the several prisons of these sufferers to ask their pardon, and to conduct them in person and with honour out of their confinement; as was done in the case of Paul and Silas, by the magistrates of Philippi; who (however the Biographer may stomach the idea of such a humiliation of this magnanimous prelate) seem to have understood the honour due to the laws of their country, and the rights of free citizens, something better than either Abp. Laud or Dr. Johnson.

But, after all, would Dr. Johnson lead us to the converse of the sentiment he ascribes to Milton, as a tenet of his
own

own orthodoxy? What his family-con-
 nexions with females may be we profess
 not to know; but we cannot believe
 that he is so far in love with petticoat-
 government, as to subscribe to the pro-
 position, that "men are made only for
 "obedience, and women only for rebel-
 "lion."

But here we take our leave of his *new*
narrative; leaving his strictures on Mil-
 ton's poetry to the examination of critics
 by profession; all of whom, we are per-
 suaded, will not approve them merely
 because they came from Dr. Johnson.
 They will observe that they are tainted
 throughout with the effects of an inve-
 terate hatred to Milton's politics, with
 which, as the Biographer of a Poet the
 author

author of *Paradise Lost*, the Critic had very little to do.

His comparifon of Shakefpeare and Milton, in his poetical fcale, is with refpect to their capital performances contemptibly childish. Homer did not, perhaps could not, write like Aristophanes : what then ? does that detract from the merit of Homer in his peculiar walk ? “ But Shakefpeare could have wrote “ [*lege* written] like Milton.” Perhaps not. At leaft it is more than Dr. Johnson knew, or could prove, for want of instances whereon to found his comparifon.

There is a line indeed in which they may be compared ; they both wrote fonnets, and little detached pieces of poetry.

Few

Few of Milton's escape without some mark of Dr. Johnson's scorn or execration. Might not a like-minded critic or caviller carp at some of Shakespeare's performances of this class with equal justice and equal malignity? And where does all this end? Why Shakespeare was the abler and more gentleman-like punster of the two.

We should perhaps be degraded into the class of such cavillers should we express our dislike of Dr. Johnson's style; but candor itself must allow, that there are periods in it which require to be translated into intelligible English, even where the sentiment is trivial enough for the conception of an honest John Trot.

For example : “ But the reputation
 “ and price of the copy still advanced,
 “ till the Revolution put an end to *the*
 “ *secrecy of love*, and *Paradise Lost* broke
 “ into open view with *sufficient security*
 “ *of kind reception* *.”

Many more instances might be given
 from this *new narrative*, where the
 quaintness of the antithesis, as here,
 borders upon the burlesque ; and we are
 too often put in mind, by Dr. Johnson’s
 style, of what we remember a worthy
 Oxford tutor said to his pupils of the
 style of *Seed’s Sermons* : “ *Boys will imi-*
 “ *tate it ; and boys will be spoiled by imi-*
 “ *tating it.*”

* Life, p. 119.

Let Dr. Johnson however enjoy his reputation of fine writing, and the praises of his admirers even to adulation, but let him and them remember and remark, that no sublimity of style, no accuracy of expression, can ennoble the meanness, or atone for the virulent malignity of his political resentment against Milton, exhibited in this NEW NARRATIVE.

POSTSCRIPT.

A certain foreign antiquary, having occasion to describe a medal of Milton among those of other learned men, gives the following character of the man and his writings :

JOANNES MILTON Anglus Londinensis,
 ejus nominis patre catholico natus, anno
 1608. ab ejus pietate, ac fide quam
 longissime recessit, sectas omnes æternæ
 consequendæ salutis aptas putans, excep-
 ta Catholica Romana, ut aperte asseruit
 in impio suo *de vera religione* libro; opti-
 mis litteris doctrinaque imbutus, iis abu-
 sus est. plerumque detestabilia seditiosa-
 que scribendo, violenterque, atque inur-
 bane prorsus, quæ semel conscripserat
 adversus meliora sentientes defensando;
 absolutam, nullisque divinis, vel huma-
 nis legibus circumscriptam libertatem in
 votis habuisse passim deprehenditur;
 malus christianus, malus civis, bonus
 tamen poeta fuit, carminibus Anglicis,
 Latinis et Italicis feliciter usus; ejus
 Poema,

Poema, cui titulum fecit *Il Paradiso perduto*, quodque Thusco nostro soluto versu transtulit Rollius, ingenti Eruditorum plausu exceptum est, proque eo elegans numisma cum effigie Miltoni cussit Joannes Daffierius, habens ab opposito protoparentum seductionem, ac expulsionem, cum epigraphe :

DIRA DVLCE CANIT ALTER HOMERVS.

Nemo pejus unquam adversus regiam potestatem majestatemque calamum acuit*.

Dr. Johnson's motives for characterising Milton in his *new narrative* seem to have been much of a sort with those of

* Museum Mozzuchellianum seu Numismata virorum doctrina præstantium—a Petro Antonio de comitibus gaetanis Brixiano Presbytero illustrata. 1763.

this Peter Anthony, with this difference, that the abuse bestowed upon the bard by the latter seems to have been more a matter of necessity.

A priest of the church of Rome would certainly consider, that an elogium upon Milton's poetical merit, delivered without a severe censure of his uncatholic opinions, might expose him to some untoward suspicions of his own heterodoxy among his superiors.

One would indeed imagine that a Protestant writer of the Life of Milton the Poet, could have no such temptation to deal out invectives against his speculative opinions. And yet we have instances where an inbred zeal for a particular opinion, would operate with an equal virulence

lence upon a protestant as upon a popish bigot. For example, in the article of *truth*, it is just as credible, that Sir Christopher Milton adhered to the party of Charles I. in obedience to the laws of his country, as that his brother John revolted from the piety and faith of his father.

On another hand, that Dr. Johnson was as much scandalized at the *impiety* of Milton's political sentiments, as Father Anthony was at his heretical pravity, cannot be doubted. Perhaps too the Doctor had his superiors to please, as well as the priest; and they ought to do him the justice to acknowledge, that he hath done his duty in characterizing Milton, with a petulance and malignity

that would not have misbecome the superstitious bigotry of a monk in a cloyster.

The Doctor, in speculating upon Dryden's perversion to popery, and (as one of the Reviewers of his prefaces expresses it) "attempting ingeniously to extenuate it," concludes that, *Enquiries into the heart are not for man.*

No truly, not when Dryden's apostacy is to be *extenuated*; but when poor Milton's sins are to be *ingeniously* aggravated, no Spanish Inquisitor more sharp-sighted to discern the devil playing his pranks in the heart of the poor culprit, or more ready to conduct him to an *auto de fe*.

In Dryden's case, the presumption is, that "a comprehensive is likewise an
"elevated

“elevated soul, and that whoever is wise,
 “is likewise honest.” But if it is *natural*
 to hope this, why not hope it of
 Milton as well as of Dryden? Where is
 the competent impartial judge who will
 admit, that Milton’s soul was less com-
 prehensive or less elevated than the soul
 of Dryden?

But what occasion for all this grimace
 in accounting for Dryden’s transition
 from what he did or did not profess to
 the church of Rome? Dr. Johnson
 ought to have been satisfied with Dry-
 den’s own account in his tale of the Hind
 and the Panther; the rather, as he there
 seems to have verified by experience Dr.
 Johnson’s maxim, that “he that is of no
 “church can have no religion.” He
 frankly

frankly confesses, that having no steady principle of religion in his youth, or even in his maturer years, he finally set up his rest in the church of Rome : and indeed if the essentials of religion consist in the trappings of a church, he could not have made a better choice *.

Dryden was reprehensible even to infamy for his own vices, and the licentious encouragement he gave in his writings to those of others. But he wrote an antirepublican poem called *Absalom and Achitophel*; and Dr. Johnson, a man of high pretensions to moral character, calls

* Bp. Burnet, speaking of Dryden's conversion, says, " If his grace and his wit improve
" both proportionably, we shall hardly find that
" he hath gained much by the change he has
" made, from having no religion to chuse one of
" the worst." *Reply to Mr. Varillas*, p. 139.

him

him a wife and an honest man. Milton was a man of the chastest manners, both in his conversation and his writings. But he wrote *Iconoclastes*, and in the same Dr. Johnson's esteem was both a knave and a fool.

The church of Rome substitutes orthodoxy for every virtue under heaven. And loyalty among the high Royalists canonizes every rascal and profligate with a full and plenary absolution. These are, it is true, among the vilest and meanest partialities of the despotic faction; and Dr. Johnson, conscious of his merit in other departments, should blush, and be humbled, to be found in the list of such miseries.

We

We have lately met with a pleasant piece of vengeance taken of Milton by a poor fellow who had suffered under his lash for conveying into the world, Morus's, or rather Du Moulin's, "*Clamor Regii Sanguinis.*"

Just before the Restoration, Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. and his attendant in his exile, a man of learning, procured a handsome and valuable edition of Sylvester Sguropulus's History of the council of Florence, in Greek. The printer of it was Adrian Vlacq, of the Hague, who yet smarted from the stripes inflicted upon him by Milton some years before. Adrian now thought he had a fine opportunity of taking his amends. For this purpose he prevailed

4

with

with Creyghton to characterize Milton in the preface to his book, but without naming him, lest both the editor and the printer should suffer for their temerity, the Restoration being yet in embryo. Some of his rhetoric we shall transcribe :

“ Nec suis unquam parasitis indignit

“ fanaticum illud genus hominum, qui

“ exitiali facundia armati semper in pro-

“ cinctu stant, et qua jubentur, linguas

“ venales flectunt, eorum turpissima

“ crimina ut virtutes collaudant, aliorum

“ omnium dotes dente satyrico perfo-

“ diunt, et in Deum ipsum, *si senatus*

“ *perduellis mandaverit*, profanæ elo-

“ quentiæ arietes admovere non erubef-

“ cunt.”

And

And again,

“ Regicidium commendant posteris,
 “ ut Heroici facinoris exemplum singu-
 “ lare. Everfionem ecclefiaë, extirpa-
 “ tionem regni, regiique sanguinis, inter
 “ facta fortiffima numerant.”

Again, fpeaking of the ftyle of the writers on the fide of the parliament, he fays :

“ Qui fructum cum femente conferre
 “ vellet fatius multo judicaret ad rudem
 “ illam, fed honeftam Latinæ orationis
 “ balbutiem (monkish Latin) revertere
 “ quam fic in Marci Tullii ac Titi Livii
 “ viridariis expatiari, pollucibiliter men-
 “ tiri, &c.”

And

And lastly,

“Tum de Regibus, si quis forte for-
 tuna encomiastice scripserit, succen-
 sent, frendunt, debacchantur, et in
 omne latus obstreperam volvunt fa-
 cundiam, ne quis Rex pro pio habe-
 atur, quando ipsi in omnium Regum
 sacrosancta capita tam impii [l. impie]
 detonuerunt.”

The allusion here to Milton and his works could not have been plainer, without naming him. The prefacer well knew Milton's zeal for his cause, and his abilities in defending it. He knew not but he might yet be disposed to do himself and his party justice at his [Creygh-ton's] expence, and he chose therefore, both for the poor printer's sake and his
 own,

own, to make the abuse general, that he might have room to say, that Milton was not the man he meant, though the two last citations would not apply to any other man that then was, or ever had been, upon the face of the earth. Such was the terror that Milton's name struck into the hearts of his opponents, even when his party was rapidly approaching their final dissolution.

The allusion here to the printer's works could not have been plainer, without naming him. The preface well knew Milton's zeal for his cause, and his abilities in defending it. He knew not but he might yet be disposed to do himself and his party justice at his Creighton's expense, and he chose therefore both for the poor printer's sake and his

Addition to the Postscript.

—Such was the awe that MILTON's name struck into the hearts of his opponents, even when his party was rapidly approaching its final dissolution.

But to return once more to the *New Narrative*. To defend injured characters is seasonable at all times. Some former accounts of Milton, Dr. Johnson treats with contradiction and contempt, where neither the information, nor the good faith of the writers, are more to be suspected than his own.

A large majority of authors are too inconsiderable to have their lives and adventures recorded for the instruction or

L - amuse-

amusement of posterity, even in the summary of a biographical dictionary. Dr. Johnson is not one of these insignificants. The public, when he hath ceased to act his part on this earthly stage, will be impatiently inquisitive after the personal history of a man, who hath figured so variously in the wide range of authorship ; and when his panegyrists have exhausted every topic of praise and adulation to grace his monument, among those of the worthies of antient days, *Somebody* may take a fancy to gratify the public with a *new narrative* of his progress and employments in life.

That SOMEBODY may be a true constitutional friend to the civil and religious

gious liberties of Englishmen, and disposed to try what figure Dr. Johnson's political maxims and conduct will make, in contrast with such part of Milton's history and principles as he hath attempted to disparage by the most invetommed insinuations.

A man of genius and erudition cannot more effectually disgrace himself, than by hiring out his talents to those vile politicians whose estimation with the public depends on ridiculing and debasing the soundest principles of free government, and on their humiliating, and to their power scandalizing the wise and upright men who espouse them; and it is not impossible that, with such an idea of Dr. Johnson's merit, some

humorous drole, surveying the superb decorations of emblematic sculpture, surrounding the commemoration of the Doctor's vast exploits in Parian marble, may add, with a homely pencil of charcoal :

HERE LYES THE GRAND EXEMPLAR OF
LITERARY PROSTITUTION.

And here we should have ended our strictures on the *new narrative*, did not the candor of a worthy friend call upon us to temper the severity (as he calls it) of this monumental inscription.

We are not deaf to the seasonable admonitions of our friends ; but unwilling to deprive our hero of his blushing honours, so hardily earned, and so richly
7 deserved,

deserved, we rather choose to add a short explanation, than to expunge a characteristic which contributes so much to the brilliancy of his reputation.

Prostitution hath, generally speaking, two principal motives, *filthy lucre*, and *inordinate appetite*. These motives are frequently compounded, particularly when indigence, and a warmth of bodily constitution, happen to meet in the same individual.

Which of these motives had the predominant *stimulus* in the habit of the great *critic* in his connections with *Lauder*, or of the great *politician*, when, *FILMER* before, *SACHEVERELL* in his rear*.

* See an Essay on the King's Friends, printed for Almon, 1776. p. 19.

he speculated upon *virtual representation*, *tyranny*, *taxation*, &c. in favour of a government *de facto*, which, till a certain period, he is said to have held to be *de jure* an usurpation, we shall not positively determine. This we know in common with the rest of mankind, that such services have not been without considerable emolument; and that, on the other hand, the performance of them hath afforded to the author an opportunity of asswaging his itch of defaming certain friends of public liberty, with whom he could have no quarrel, but on account of their political principles and attachments.

We could add some remarkable instances from the *Life of Savage*. The
em-

embellishment of a character so replete with insolence, ingratitude, and criminal dissipation, can hardly be ascribed to motives of greater purity than the sale of the copy, unless we should take into the account the *delicacies of friendship*, and the congenial talents of the man and his orator.

Savage was a poet, and in his biographer's opinion, a poet above mediocrity, and not inferior in the poetical scale of Dr. Johnson to some of those whom he hath honoured with his *prefatory* narratives.

May we not then presume, that the Doctor's Life of Savage will be added to those eulogies of eminent bards which have been received by the public with

so much applause, and read with so much avidity?

We would not anticipate the pleasure of his readers in observing the Doctor's improvements in political wisdom since the year 1744; we shall only give one instance of it, taken from pages 120, 121, 122, of the edition of Savage's Life that year, where there are some just, and indeed beautiful, contemplations, on the rise and settlement of colonies, both in a poetical and political view.

Savage composed a poem on the subject, where, as the biographer informs us, he has laudably “asserted the natural equality of mankind, and endeavoured to suppress that pride which
“inclines

“inclines men to imagine that right is
“the consequence of power.”

The benevolent Dr. Price himself could not have advanced a doctrine more unfavourable to the palate of Dr. Johnson's friends, nor needs it much sagacity to shew how it appears in contrast with *the change which experience hath made in the Doctor's opinions* *. The Doctor, we presume, found his account in both his opinions, and all sides ought to be satisfied.

There is indeed one performance ascribed to the pen of the Doctor, where the prostitution is of so singular a nature, that it would be difficult to select an adequate motive for it out of the

* Life of Savage, p. 122.

mountainous heap of conjectural causes of human passions or human caprice. We allude to the speech delivered by the late unhappy Dr. William Dodd, when he was about to hear the sentence of the law pronounced upon him, in consequence of an indictment for forgery.

The voice of the public has given the honour of manufacturing this speech to Dr. Johnson; and the style and *configuration* of the speech itself confirm the imputation.

Dr. Dodd was a man of parts, a poet, and an orator. He can hardly be supposed to have suspected that the powers of his own rhetoric would be too feeble for so critical an occasion. Presence of mind he could not want to compose a
 4 speech

speech for himself. His effusions both in prose and poetry, during the most trying moments of his confinement, prove that he did not. The naked unadorned feelings of his own mind on that awful occasion (which he could hardly convey to Dr. Johnson) would have been the most expressive of his sincerity and self-humiliation; and the most proper and effectual recommendation of his case to the commiseration of his audience, and the merciful interposition of his judges.

An ambition to go out of the world with the applause of having made a florid speech, we cannot, with any degree of charity, impute to the unfortunate criminal. He must, in that case, have
 had

had vanity sufficient to prevent him from borrowing his materials from another.

But whatever inducement Dr. Dodd might have to solicit Dr. Johnson's aid on such an occasion, it is hardly possible to divine what could be Dr. Johnson's motive for accepting the office. A man to express the precise state of mind of another about to be destined to an ignominious death for a capital crime, should, one would imagine, have some consciousness, that he himself had incurred some guilt of the same kind; in which case his own apprehensions would furnish him with topics of deprecation, suited to the purpose of his obtaining mercy. But this, we trust, was not the case.

Was

Was it then the vanity of shewing how far he was superior in abilities to an eminent master in his own craft of artificial composition, that prevailed with Dr. Johnson to lend his talent on so critical an occasion? Such, one might fear, was the motive, from the early and general intelligence imparted to the public, by whom this admired piece of oratory was fabricated.

Was it, lastly, the presumption that a speech composed by Dr. Johnson, and delivered by Dr. Dodd, could not fail of interesting all the world in favour of the prisoner, and of procuring the most powerful intercession for the unhappy criminal's life?

Authors

Authors in the pleasing contemplation of their own powers, and in the exertion of them upon paper, may imagine strange things in their closets concerning their efficiency when they come abroad. But here, alas! all the propriety of diction, and the beauty of colouring, were absolutely wasted upon the good sense and native integrity of the late worthy Recorder of London. He saw through the artifice. He saw no circumstance from one end of the transaction to the other to make it probable that *no fraud was intended*, nor found any weight in the *counterbalance* proposed in the pompous strains of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

But

But there is no end of conjectures in a case where some absurdity or other arises to disgrace every account that can be suggested of the origin of a manœuvre of which no precedent can be found, except among the works of the chaplain of Newgate.

We should indeed be inclined to call it a mere *jeu d'esprit*, in the nature of an essay of what could be said in a fictitious case, were it not utterly incredible that any one with the coolest feelings of humanity (of which we by no means suppose Dr. Johnson to be destitute) could bring himself to sport with the calamity of the unhappy criminal, without hope or prospect, or intention of relief;

lief; a sort of prostitution for which hardly any censure can be too severe.

A D D E N D U M.

Mr. Boerhadem's Letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1779, concerning Dr. Johnson's narrative of Milton's omitting all acts of religious worship both in public and private, came not to our hands till it was too late to insert, in the printed *Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton*, the thanks we think he well deserves, as an able co-operator with us in the defence of Milton. The friends of Milton are particularly obliged to him, for remarking Dr. Newton's improvement upon Toland,

land,

land, and Dr. Johnson's upon Newton, in their several accounts of Milton's conduct with respect to religious worship; and we think it an apt illustration of Toby Smollet's story of the *three crows*. For our parts, we are of opinion, that Milton's sentiments, or the practical effects of them in matters of religion, want no vindication. As to the matter in question, we remember a passage in Robert Barclay's catechism, where the author, having cited several texts of Scripture, concludes, *Ex omnibus hisce scripturæ locis apparet, verum Dei cultum in spiritu esse; et sicut nec certo cuilibet loco, ita nec certo cuivis temporis limitatur*. This might be Milton's persuasion, as well as Bar-

clay's; but no considerate man would conclude from these words, that Barclay never prayed in private.

The worthy man to whose memory these papers are dedicated fell under many foolish and illiberal suspicions on account of his absenting from public worship. If any of our more ingenuous readers have been imposed upon, or influenced by such base insinuations of purblind bigotry, we may hope they will now see in some expressions of Mr. Hollis's heart-felt unaffected piety, that *pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father*, does not depend upon a man's exterior connections with any visible church, or religious society, so called,

called, whatever. And this we presume to offer as a complete apology for Milton, as well as his excellent and ever memorable disciple.

*The Blazoning of MILTON'S ARMS, which
are prefixed to these REMARKS.*

“THE Arms that John Milton did use
“and seal his letters with, were Argent,
“a Spread Eagle, with two heads gules,
“legg'd and beak'd sable.”

Wood, vol. I. fast. 262.

These arms are engraved in Toland's Milton, vol. I. but the crest is not there as in Milton's seal.

Milton's seal, from which the arms were taken, was bought of Mr. John Payne, by T. H. for three guineas, 1761.

It is in silver, came into his possession on the death of Foster, who had married a grand-daughter of Milton's.

The

The dates of the original editions of
MILTON's Prose Works.

- 1641, Of Reformation in England.
1641, Of Prelatical Episcopacy.
1641, Of Church Government.
1641, Animadversions upon the Remon-
strants defence against Smec-
tymnus.
1642, An Apology for Smectymnus.
1644, Areopagitica.
1644, The Doctrine and Discipline of
Divorce.
1644, The Doctrine, &c. of Divorce
much augmented, a second
edition.
1645, The same.

- 1644, The Judgement of Martin Bucer,
concerning divorce.
- 1644, Of Education.
- 1673, Of Education, written above twenty years since; printed at the end of his Poems, octavo.
- 1645, Tetrachordon.
- 1645, Colafterion.
- 1649, Observations on the articles of peace.
- 1649, EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ.
- 1690, The same, octavo, Amsterdam.
- 1650, The same, a second edition, much enlarged.
- 1652, EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ. Traduite de l'Anglois sur la seconde et plus ample edition; et revûë par l'auteur, a Londres, par
Guill.

[167*]

Guill. Dugard, imprimeur du
Conseil d'Etat, l'an. 1652, 12mo.

1649, The Tenure of Kings.

— The same, a second edition.

1650, The same, a second edition, with
some additions.

1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defensio.

1651, The same in folio, editio emen-
dator.

1651, The same in 12mo.

1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defensio,
Antw.

1652, The same.

1652, Defensio secunda, Hagæ-comi-
tum, 12mo.

1654, The same.

1652, Joannis Philippi Angli responsio,
12mo, Londini.

1692, The

1692, The Defence of the People of
England, translated by Mr.
Washington of the Temple,
octavo.

1655, Pro se defensio, Hagæ-comitum,
12mo.

1655, Scriptum Dom. Protectoris Rei-
publicæ Angliæ, &c.

1659, Literæ, Senatus Anglicani necnon
Cromwelli, &c. nomine, con-
scriptæ, 12mo.

1659, Considerations to remove hirelings
out of the Church, 12mo.

1659, A letter concerning the Common-
wealth, 12mo.

1659, The Brief Delineation of a Free
Commonwealth.

1659, A ready and easy way to establish
a Commonwealth.

1659, A

1659, A treatise of Civil Power, 12mo.

1658, The Cabinet Council, containing
the chief arts of empire, by the
ever renowned knight Sir Wal-
ter Raleigh. Published by John
Milton, Esq. printed by J. New-
comb, in twelves.

1660, Accedence commenced Grammar,
12mo.

1669, The same.

1660, Brief notes upon a sermon.

1661, Aphorisms of State, a Tract of Sir
Walter Raleigh's, 8vo.

1670, The history of Britain.

1671, The same.

1672, Artis Logicæ Institutio, 12mo.

1673, Editio secunda, 12mo.

1673, Of true Religion, 12mo.

1674, Epif-

1674, Epistolarum Familiarium Liber,
8vo.

1674, Declaration of the Poles.

1676, Letters of State, 12mo. translated
into English, 1694.

1682, The Historie of Moscovia, 8vo.

1738, The Arcopagitica was published
with a preface by Thomson,
8vo.

The dates of the original editions of
MILTON'S Poetical Works.

1667, Paradise Lost, in ten books.

1668, The same.

1669, The same, with the argument and
address to the reader, from
S. Simons.

1669, The

- 1669, The same, without the addrefs.
- 1672, The same, in twelve books.
- 1674, Paradise Loft, in twelve books,
2d edit. 8vo.
- 1675, The same.
- 1678, The same.
- 1645, Poems, 12mo.
- 1673, Poems, with the Tractate on Edu-
cation, written above twenty
years fince, 8vo.
- 1671, Paradise Regained, and Samfon
Agoniftes, 8vo.
- 1680, The same.
- 1750, The first book of Paradise Loft,
Glasgow, illustrated with notes
and references to the antient
Poets. It is to be lamented,
that

that the whole poem had not
been published in the same
manner.

All the above editions in Quarto, except
those marked otherwise.

OF EDUCATION,

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

MASTER HARTLIB,

I AM long since perswaded, that to
 say, or doe ought worth memory,
 and imitation, no purpose or respect
 should sooner move us, then simply the
 love of God, and of mankinde. Never-
 thelesse to write now the reforming of
 Education, though it be one of the
 greatest and noblest designes, that can be
 thought on, and for the want whereof
 this nation perishes, I had not yet at this
 time been induc't, but by your earnest
 entreaties, and serious conjurements; as

M

having

having my minde for the present halfe
 diverted in the persuance of some
 other assertions, the knowledge and the
 use of which, cannot but be a great fur-
 therance both to the enlargement of
 truth and honest living, with much more
 peace. Nor should the lawes of any
 private friendship have prevail'd with
 me to divide thus, or transpose my for-
 mer thoughts, but that I see those aims,
 those actions which have won you with
 me the esteem of a person sent hither by
 some good providence from a farre
 country to be the occasion and the in-
 citement of great good to this Iland.
 And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the
 same repute with men of most approved
 wisdom, and some of highest authority
 among

among us. Not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both heer, and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I thinke that so reputed, and so valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over ponderous argument, but that the satisfaction which you professe to have receiv'd from those incidentall discourses which we have wander'd into, hath prest and almost constrain'd you into a perswasion, that what you require from me in this point,

I neither ought, nor can in conscience deferre beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to trie what God hath determin'd. I will not resist therefore, what ever it is either of divine, or humane obligation that you lay upon me ; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in silence presented it self to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension farre more large, and yet of time farre shorter, and of attainment farre more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Briefe I shall endeavour to be ; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreame need should be done sooner than spok'n. To
tell

tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Ianua's* and *Didactics* more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowr'd off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative yeers altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge; and such as pleas'd you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruin of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him,

to be like him, as we may the neereſt by poſſeſſing our ſouls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the higheſt perfection. But becauſe our underſtanding cannot in this body find it ſelfe but on ſenſible things, nor arrive ſo cleerly to the knowledge of God and things inviſible, as by orderly conning over the viſible and inferior creature, the ſame method is neceſſarily to be follow'd in all diſcreet teaching. And ſeeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kinde of learning, and therefore we are chiefly taught the language of thoſe people who have at any time been moſt induſtrious after wiſdom; ſo that language is but the inſtrument convey-
ing

ing to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himselfe to have all the tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessfull; first we do amisse to spend seven or eight yeers meerly in seraping together so much miserable Latin, and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one yeer. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behinde, is

our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose Theams, verses, and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgement and the finall work of a head fill'd by long reading, and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit: besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continu'd and judicious conversing among pure Authors

thors digested, which they scarce taste, whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lesson'd thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rationall and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein : and for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grosse of

barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with Arts most easie, and those be such as are most obvious to the sence, they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellectual abstractions of Logick and metaphysics: So that they having but newly left those grammatick flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climat to be tost and turmoild with their unballasted wits in fadomles and unquiet deeps of controversie, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while

they

they expected worthy and delightfull knowledge; till poverty or youthfull yeers call them importunately their severall wayes, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; Some allur'd to the trade of Law grounding their purposes not on the prudent, and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to State affairs, with souls so unprincipled in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery and court shifts and tyrannous aphorismes appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling

stilling their barren hearts with conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their daies in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unlesse they were with more integrity undertak'n. And these are the errours, and these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning meere words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you now no longer in the demonstration of what we should not doe, but strait conduct ye to a hill side,
 where

where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of *Orpheus* was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more adoe to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubbs from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of fowthistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a compleate and generous education that which fits

a man

a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and publike of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one and twenty, lesse time then is now bestow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus order'd.

First to finde out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to doe all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done. This place should be at once both School and University, not needing

a re-

a remove to any other house of Scholarship, except it be some peculiar Colledge of Law, or Physick, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those generall studies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needfull in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the encrease of learning and civility every where. This number, lesse or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their daies work into three parts, as it lies orderly.

derly. Their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies, First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better: and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and cleer pronuntiation, as neer as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being farre northerly, doe not open our mouthes in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern tongue; but are observ'd by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward: So that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next to make them expert in the usefullest points
of

of grammar, and withall to season them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vain principle seise them wandering, some easie and delightfull book of education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authoritie extant, except the two or three first books of *Quintilian*, and some select peeces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of learning, and the admiration of vertue, stirr'd

up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish, and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberall exercises: which he who hath the art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectuall perswasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchlesse men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught

I M

them

them the rules of Arithmetick, and soon after the elements of geometry even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed time their thoughts will be best taken up in the easie grounds of religion, and the story of scripture. The next step would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Colummella*, for the matter is most easie, and if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficultie above their yeers. And here will be an occasion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the wast that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules praises. Ere halfe these Authors be read, which will soon be with

plying hard, and dayly, they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author, the use of the globes, and all the maps first with the old names; and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of naturall philosophy. And at the same time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescrib'd in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the Historicall Physiologie of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like acceffe will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Senecas* naturall questions,

tions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography*, with a general compact of *Phyicks*, they may descend in *Mathematicks* to the instrumentall science of *Trigonometry*, and fr m thence to *Fortification*, *Architecure*, *Enginry*, or *Navigation*. And in naturall Philosophy they may proceed leifurly from the History of *Meteors*, minerals, plants, and living creatures as farre as anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of *Phyick*; that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely doe, is not

only a great Phyfician to himfelfe, and to his friends, but alfo may at fome time or other, fave an Army by this frugall, and expenceleffe meanes only ; and not let the healthy and ftout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this difcipline, which is a great pittie, and no leffe a fhame to the commander. To fet forward all thefe proceedings in nature and mathematicks, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as fhall be needfull, the helpfull experiences of Hunters, fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, *Apothecaries* ; and in the other fciences, *Architefts*, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomifts ; who doubtleffe would be ready fome for reward, and fome to favour fuch a hopefull feminary.

minary. And this will give them such a reall tincture of naturall knowledge, as they shall never forget, but dayly augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius*, and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rurall part of *Virgil*.

By this time, yeers and good general precepts will have furnisht them more distinctly with that act of reason which in *Ethics* is called *Proairesis*; that they may with some judgement contemplat upon morall good and evill. Then will be requir'd a speciall reinforcement of constant and found endoctrinating to set

them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of vertue and the hatred of vice : while their young and pliant affections are led through all the morall works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants ; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies where-with they close the dayes work, under the determinat sentence of *David* or *Solomon*, or the evangels and *Apostolic* Scriptures. Being perfit in the knowledge of personall duty, they may then begin the study of Economies. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odde hour the *Italian* tongue. And soon after, but with warinesse, and good antidote, it would

would be wholesome enough to let them
 tast some choise comedies Greek, Latin,
 or *Italian* : those tragedies also that
 treat of household matters, as *Trachinæ*,
Alcestis and the like. The next
 remove must be to the study of *Politics* :
 to know the beginning, end, and rea-
 sons of politicall societies ; that they
 may not in a dangerous fit of the com-
 mon-wealth be such poor, shaken, un-
 certain reeds, of such a tottering con-
 science, as many of our great counsel-
 lers have lately shewn themselves, but
 stedfast pillars of the State. After this
 they are to dive into the grounds of law,
 and legall justice ; deliver'd first, and
 with best warrant by *Moses* ; and as
 farre as humane prudence can be trusted,
 in

in those extoll'd remains of Grecian Lawgivers, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the Roman *Edicts* and tables with their *Iustinian*; and so down to the *Saxon* and common laws of England, and the Statutes. Sundayes also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and Church History ancient and modern: and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gain'd, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to adde the *Chaldey*, and the *Syrian* dialect. When all these employments are well conquer'd, then will the choise histories, *heroic poems*, and *Attic* tragedies

tragedies of statliest, and most regal argument, with all the famous Politicall orations offer themselves ; which if they were not only read ; but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is usefull, is to be referr'd to this due place withall her well coucht heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a
grace-

gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught
 out of the rule of *Plato, Aristotle, Pka-*
lerus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.
 To which Poetry would be made subse-
 quent, or indeed rather precedent, as
 being lesse futtle and fine, but more
 simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean
 not here the prosody of a verse, which
 they could not but have hit on before
 among the rudiments of grammar; but
 that sublime art which in *Aristotles poe-*
tics, in Horace, and the Italian com-
mentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Maz-
zoni, and others, teaches what the laws
 are of a true *Epic* poem, what of a *Dra-*
matic, what of a *Lyric,* what decorum
 is, which is the grand master peece to
 observe. This would make them soon
 perceive

perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and play-writes be, and shew them, what Religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universall insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parliament or counsell, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stufte otherwise wrought then what we now sit under, oft times to as great a triall

triall of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unlesse they rely more upon their ancestors dead, then upon themselves living. In which methodicall course it is so suppos'd they must proceed by the steddypace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memories sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, untill they have confirm'd, and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattelling of a Roman legion.

legion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercifes, and what recreations may beft agree, and become thefe ftudies.

THEIR EXERCISE.

The courfe of ftudy hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can gueffe by reading, likeft to thofe ancient and famous fchools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Ifocrates*, *Aristotle*, and fuch others, out of which were bred up fuch a number of renowned Philofophers, orators, Hiftorians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*, befides the flourishing ftudies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it fhall exceed them, and fupply a defect as great as that which *Plato*, noted in the commonwealth of *Sparta*; whereas
that

that city train'd up their youth most for warre, and these in their Academies and *Lycæum*, all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for peace and warre. Therefore about an hour and a halfe ere they eat at noon should be allow'd them for exercise and due rest afterwards: but the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon; to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large, and tall, and to inspire them with a gal-
lant

tant and fearlesse courage, which being
 temper'd with seasonable lectures and
 precepts to them of true fortitude, and
 patience, will turn into a native and he-
 roic valour, and make them hate the
 cowardise of doing wrong. They must
 be also practiz'd in all the locks and
 gripes of wrastring, wherein Englishmen
 were wont to excell, as need may often
 be in fight to tugge, to grapple, and to
 close. And this perhaps will be anough,
 wherein to prove and heat their single
 strength. The interim of unsweating
 themselves regularly, and convenient rest
 before meat may both with profit and
 delight be taken up in recreating and
 composing their travail'd spirits with so-
 lemn and divine harmonies of musick
 O heard,

heard, or learnt ; either while the skilful *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artfull and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied cords of some choise composer ; sometimes the Lute, or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martiall, or civill ditties ; which if wise men & prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smoothe and make them gentle from rustick harshnesse and dis-temper'd passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their mindes backe to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where hav-
ing

ing follow'd it close under vigilant eyes till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarum or watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Romane wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on horse back, to all the art of cavalry; That having in sport, but with much exactnesse, and dayly muster, serv'd out the rudiments of their Souldiership in all the skill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, beseiging and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, *Tactiks* and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long warre come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of

their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft suppli'd; they would not suffer their empty and unrecrutible Colonells of twenty men in a company, to quaffe out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant: yet in the meanwhile to be overmaster'd with a score or two of drunkards, the only souldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governors, they would not suffer these things.

But

But to return to our own institute, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itselfe abroad ; In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and fullennesse against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a perswader to them of studying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land : learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, har-

bours and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as farre as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practicall knowledge of sailing and of sea fight. These wayes would trie all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it selfe by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired vertues and excellencies, with farre more advantage now in this puritie of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *Monsieurs of Paris* to take our hopefull youth into thir flight and prodigall custodies and send them over back again transform'd

form'd into mimics, apes & Kicshoes.

But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty yeers of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they passe, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now lastly for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain,

healthfull, and moderate I suppose is out of controverſie. Thus Maſter *Hartlib*, you have a generall view in writing, as your deſire was, of that which at ſeverall times I had diſcourſt with you concerning the beſt and Nobleſt way of Education; not beginning, as ſome have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many conſiderations, if brevity had not bean my ſcope, many other circumſtances alſo I could have mention'd, but this to ſuch as have the worth in them to make triall, for light and direction may be anough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to ſhoot in that counts himſelfe a teacher; but will require ſinews almoſt equall to thoſe which Homer gave Ulyſſes, yet I

am

am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious : howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes ; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity anough to apprehend.

AREOPAGITICA;
A
S P E E C H
O F
Mr. J O H N M I L T O N
For the Liberty of VNLICENC'D
P R I N T I N G,
To the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND.

Τ'ουλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρησόν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστὶν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

*This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State than this?*

Euripid. Hicetid.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

ARTISTIC

A

P. 3 P. 2 E. C. H.

OF THE

W. O. N. V. M. I. A. T. O. N.

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P R E F A C E,

By Mr. THOMSON.

THERE is no need of a Preface to recommend this admirable defence of the best of human rights, to any one who has ever heard of the DIVINE MILTON : and it is impossible to produce better arguments, or to set them in a more convincing, awakening light.

Is it possible that any Free-born Briton, who is capable of thinking, can ever lose all sense of religion and virtue, and of the dignity of human nature to such a degree, as to wish for that universal Ignorance, Darknefs, and Barbarity,

against

against which the absolute Freedom of the Press is the only Preservative? For what else spreads light, or diffuses knowledge through the world? But it seems, as a sense of the value of health is sometimes lost in the midst of its full enjoyment; so men, through a habit of liberty, may become insensible of its inestimable worth: otherwise would not every one awake, rouse himself, and say, when the most dear and valuable of all the privileges, that government is designed to protect, is menaced, “That he will
 “ sooner part with life itself than with
 “ that liberty without which life is not
 “ worth the having: that he will sooner
 “ suffer his eyes to be put out, than his
 “ understanding to be extinguished.”

We are told in history of a * people that, after they had been inured to slavery, were in a panick fear, when their liberty was offered to them. And this terrible effect of slavery ought to make every lover of mankind tremble at the thoughts of any steps or approaches towards the diminution of liberty. “For
 “without it, as Homer has told us,
 “men soon cease to be men : they soon
 “cease to be rational creatures.”

Now without the absolute unbounded freedom of writing and publishing, there is no liberty ; no shadow of it : it is an empty sound. For what can Liberty mean, if it does not mean, the Liberty of exercising, improving, and informing

* The Cappadocians.

our understandings? “A people have
 “Liberty,” said a truly good king * of
 England, “when they are free as thought
 “is free. What is it that makes a city,
 “(said the good Alcæus, a poet, whose
 “muse was always sacred and faithful to
 “the best of causes) it is not walls and
 “buildings; no, it is being inhabited
 “by men: by men, who know them-
 “selves to be men, and have suitable
 “notions of the dignity of human na-
 “ture: by men, who know what it is
 “alone that exalts them above the
 “brutes.” Can we be either virtuous
 or religious, without the free use of our
 reason, without the means of knowledge?
 And can we have knowledge, if men

* Elfrid.

dare

dare not freely study, and as freely communicate the fruits of their studies? What is it that distinguishes human society from a brutish herd, but the flourishing of the Arts and Sciences, the free exercise of Wit and Reason? What can government mean, intend, or produce, that is worthy of man, or beneficial to him, as he is a rational creature, besides Wisdom, Knowledge, Virtue, and Science? Is it merely indeed that we may eat, drink, sleep, sing, and dance, with security, that we choose governors, subject ourselves to their administration, and pay taxes? Take away the Arts, Religion, Knowledge, Vertue, (all of which must flourish, or sink together) and, in the name of goodness,

P

what

what is left to us that is worth enjoying or protecting? Yet take away the Liberty of the press, and we are all at once stript of the use of our noblest faculties : our souls themselves are imprisoned in a dark dungeon : we may breathe, but we cannot be said to live.

If the end of governors and government is not to diffuse with a liberal unsparing equal hand, true rational happiness ; but to make the bulk of mankind beasts of burden, that a few may wallow in brutish pleasures : then it is consistent politicks to root out the desire and love of Light and Knowledge. Certain Scythian slaves, that they might work the harder, had only their eyes destroyed. But to extinguish human understanding,

standing, and establish a kingdom of darkness, is just so far more barbarous than even that monstrous cruelty, as the mind excels the body; or as understanding and reason are superior to sense. Cardinal Richlieu says, in his Political Testament, “ That subjects with knowledge, sense, and reason, are as monstrous as a beast with hundreds of eyes would be; and that such a beast will never bear its burden peaceably. Whence he infers, it is impossible to promote despotick power, while learning is encouraged and extended. The people must be hood-winked, or rather blinded, if one would have them tame and patient drudges. In short, you must treat them every way like

“ pack-horses or mules, not excepting
 “ the bells about their necks, which by
 “ their perpetual jingling may be of use
 “ to drown their cares.” Now this is
 plain dealing, and consistent politicks.
 But to talk of Liberty and Free Govern-
 ment, Publick Good and Rational Hap-
 piness, as requiring limitations on the
 Press, and Licensers of books, is as ab-
 surd as to speak of liberty in a dungeon
 with chains on every limb. Hobbes too
 was consistent with himself, and advises
 those who aim at absolute dominion, to
 destroy all the antient Greek and Latin
 authors ; because, if those are read,
 Principles of Liberty, and just Senti-
 ments of the Dignity and Rights of Man-
 kind must be imbib’d. But can there be
 more

more glaring bare-faced nonsense than to say, “ That the very support of a free “ constitution requires the Extinction of “ the Press ; ” that is, the Extinction of the ONLY Means of knowing what we are as Men and Christians ; what our natures are capable of ; what is our just happiness, and how we ought to be treated by our governors ; that is, by those whom we have entrusted with the management of our interests and concerns !

I hope it will never be this nation’s misfortune to fall into the hands of an administration that do not from their souls abhor any thing that has but the remotest tendency towards the erection of a new and arbitrary jurisdiction over the

prefs : or can otherwise look upon any
 attempt that way, than as the greatest
 impiety, the cruellest, the wickedest, the
 most irreligious thing that can be ima-
 gined. Would it not be sacrilegioufly
 robbing God of the only worship he de-
 lights in, “the worship of the heart and
 “understanding?” Can there be Reli-
 gion or Virtue without Reason, Thought,
 and Choice? Or can Reason, Think-
 ing, Knowledge, and Choice, subsist
 without the only conceivable means of
 making men wise and understanding,
 rational, and virtuous? What is the
 kingdom of CHRIST? doth not our Sa-
 viour delight in calling it *Light*, and a
Kingdom of Light? And what did he
 come to destroy but the kingdom of
 darkness?

darkness? And can there be a kingdom of light, without the liberty, the unconstrained liberty, of diffusing light and knowledge? What is the *Reformation*, or what does it mean, but the Liberty, the absolute and perfect Liberty of correcting and refuting errors, and of undeceiving mankind? What is it that we call PROTESTANTISM, but a resolution stedfastly and undauntedly to oppose all encroachments upon rational Liberty, the Liberty of the judgment and understanding; and to maintain it as our most valuable treasure, our greatest and noblest privilege, in comparison of which, all other rights are mean and trifling, and hardly deserve the name of blessings and advantages? A free Protestant

Country, without the Liberty of the Press, is a contradiction in terms; it is free slavery, or inchained Liberty. Light and Darknefs are not more opposite than Liberty and the Deprivation of the means of being rational.

Who, that loves mankind, is not sorry that any thing is ever published tending to confound men's understanding, mislead their judgments, or deprave their morals? But is there any more likely method for sense to prevail against absurdities, than leaving her at full liberty to paint them in their native colours? Can truth be better armed against error than with the mighty blade of uncontrouled Reason? Or virtue more surely triumph over immorality, than by
the

the vigorous execution of the truly wholesome laws purposely framed for her support?

I hate all calumny and defamation, as I hate the corruption of heart, from which alone it can proceed; and do with the utmost zeal detest those prophaners of Liberty, who pretending to be friends to it, have recourse to such black diabolical methods. But I take the laws already in force amongst us to be a more than sufficient preservative (at least as far as human prudence is able to provide) against all the abusive overt-acts I am now expressing my abhorrence of: and as such we have reason to esteem them very valuable securities of our Liberties and reputations. But because
wicked

wicked things are publish'd must there be no publishing? I know it is objected that there is a medium between an absolute Liberty of the Press, and an absolute Suppression of it. Which I admit; but yet aver the medium (by which either Licensing or nothing at all is meant) is far worse on all accounts than either extreme. For though we are indeed told, that Licensers would serve us with wholesome goods, feed us with food convenient for us, and only prevent the distribution of poison; sure such cant was never meant to impose on any, but those who are asleep, and cannot see one inch before them. Let no True Briton therefore be deceived by such fallacious speeches, but consider the necessary consequences

sequences which must follow, and he will soon find that it is as the flattering language of the strange woman [in the book of Proverbs] who with her fair smooth tongue, beguileth the simple, and leadeth them as an ox to the slaughter. That plausible and deceitful language leadeth indeed into the chambers of darkness and death. But this subject is fully handled in the excellent Treatise subjoin'd. I will only propose to the consideration of all lovers of Religion, Virtue, Science, and Mankind, the few following queries; and every one ought methinks to propose them to himself every day of his life, as making a fundamental Catechism. For if the truths, which these contain, are not fundamental,

tal,

tal, man is not a man, but a beast; religion and virtue are empty names.

1. What is our most valuable part, or what is it that maketh us capable of Religion, Virtue, and rational Happiness? Is it not our Reason or Understanding?

2. What then is the noblest privilege that belongs to man? Is it not the free Exercise of his Understanding, the full use of all the means of advancing in Virtue and Knowledge?

3. What is it then that is, and must be, the chief end of government to encourage and promote? Is it not Knowledge, Virtue, and Religion?

4. And can Knowledge, Virtue, or Religion, be promoted, if the only means

of promoting them are taken away? For what are the means of promoting them, but the liberty of writing and publishing, without running any risque but that of being refuted or ridiculed, where any thing advanced chances to labour under the just imputation of falshood or absurdity?

of promoting them are taken away? For
what are the means of promoting them,
but the liberty of writing and publish-
ing, without running any risque but
the ordinary risk of ridicule, waste
any thing advanced chances to labour
under the just imputation of falsehood or
absurdity of the common sense of the
people, which is the least of the
or wanting such results in a given time
dition, while the whole is in a
may advance the public good, I say
pole, then we are in the position of go-
means to be used, not in the
and moved, and in the end to be
some with absolute safety, and
lucifer, and the whole of what will
be the result, I leave to the
public

AREOPAGITICA;

A SPEECH of Mr. JOHN MILTON,

For the Liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parliament, or wanting such acceſſe in a private condition, write that which they foreſee may advance the publick good; I ſuppoſe them as at the beginning of no meane endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes: Some with doubt of what will be the ſucceſſe, others with feare of what will be the cenſure; ſome with hope, others with

with confidence of what they have to
 speake. And me perhaps each of these
 dispositions, as the subject was whereon
 I enter'd, may have at other times va-
 riously affected; and likely might in
 these formost expressions now also dis-
 close which of them sway'd most, but
 that the very attempt of this addresse
 thus made, and the thought of whom it
 hath recourse to, hath got the power
 within me to a passion, farre more wel-
 come then incidentall to a Preface.
 Which though I stay not to confesse ere
 any aske, I shall be blamelesse, if it be
 no other, then the joy and gratulation
 which it brings to all who wish and pro-
 mote their Countries liberty; whereof
 this whole discourse propos'd will be a
 certaine

certaine testimony, if not a Trophey. For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attain'd, that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a *Roman* recovery, it will bee attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithfull

Q guidance

guidance and undaunted Wifdome, Lords and Commons of *England*. Neither is it in GOD's esteeme the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy Magistrates ; which if I now first should begin to doe, after so fair a progresse of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardiest, and unwillingest of them that praise yee. Nevertheless there being three principall things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, First, when that only is prais'd which is solidly worth praise : next when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly
and

and really in those persons to whom they are ascrib'd, the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not ; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium* ; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserv'd opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best cov'nant of his fidelity ; and that his loyalest affection and his hope

waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising; for though I should affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisht Orders which I should name, were call'd in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your milde and equall Government, when as private persons are hereby animated to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice, then other statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a trienniall Parliament, and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates

I

lates and cabin Counsellours that usurpt
of late, when as they shall observe yee
in the midd'ft of your Victories and suc-
cesses more gently brooking writt'n ex-
ceptions against a voted Order, then other
Courts, which had produc't nothing
worth memory but the weake ostentation
of wealth, would have endur'd the least
signifi'd dislike at any sudder Proclama-
tion. If I should thus farre presume
upon the meek demeanour of your civill
and gentle greatnesse, Lords and Com-
mons, as what your publisht Order hath
directly said, that to gainfay, I might
defend my selfe with ease, if any should
accuse me of being new or insolent, did
they but know how much better I find
ye esteem it to imitate the old and ele-

gant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* statelines. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Gothes* and *Futlanders*, I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of *Athens*, that perswades them to change the forme of *Democracy* which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those dayes to men who profess the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Siniories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had ought in publick to admonish the State. Thus did *Dion Prusæus* a stranger and a privat Ora-
tor

tor counsell the *Rhodians* against a former edict : and I abound with other like examples, which to set heer would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equall to any of those who had this priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as your selves are superior to the most of them who receiv'd their counsell : and how farre you excell them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear, then when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeyes the voice of reason

from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your Predecessors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both that love of truth which ye eminently professe, and that uprightnesse of your judgement which is not wont to be partiall to your selves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd *to regulate Printing. That no Book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth Printed, unlesse the same be first approv'd and licenc't by such, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed.* For
that

that part which preserves justly every mans Copy to himfelfe, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painfull Men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadregesimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily, as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it to bee those whom ye will be loath to own; next what is to be thought in generall of reading, whatever sort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended

tended to be suppressed. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the discovery that might bee yet further made both in religious and civill Wisdome.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men ; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors : For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that foule was whose progeny they are ;

are ; nay they do preserve as in a violl
the purest efficacie and extraction of
that living intellect that bred them. I
know they are as lively, and as vigo-
rousfly productive, as those fabulous
Dragons teeth ; and being sown up and
down, may chance to spring up armed
men. And yet on the other hand, un-
lesse warineffe be us'd, as good almost
kill a man as kill a good Book ; who
kills a Man kills a reasonable creature,
God's image ; but hee who destroyes a
good Booke, kills reason itself, kills the
image of God, as it were in the eye.
Many a man lives a burden to the Earth ;
but a good Booke is the pretious life-
blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and
treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond
life.

life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of reason it selfe, slaies an immortality rather than a life.

But

But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing, I refuse not the paines to be so much Historically, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out of the *Inquisition*, was catcht up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

In *Athens* where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of *Greece*, I finde but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of; those either blasphemous and Atheistical, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Iudges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt,
and

and himfelfe banifht the territory for a difcourfe begun with his confeffing not to know *whether there were gods, or whether not* : And againft defaming, it was decreed that none fhould be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comædia*, whereby we may gueffe how they cenfur'd libelling : and this courfe was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheifts, and the open way of defaming, as the event fhew'd. Of other fefts and opinions though tending to voluptuoufneffe, and the denying of divine providence they tooke no heed. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*, or that libertine fchool of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd, was ever queftion'd

tion'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comedians were suppress'd, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Aristophanes* the loosest of them all, to his royall scholler *Dionysius*, is commonly known and may be excus'd, if holy *Chrysostome*, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, considering that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of *Ionia* the scatter'd workes of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from

Creet

Creet to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* furlineffe with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wonder'd how museleffe and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they dislik'd all, but their owne *Laconick Apothegms*, and took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher straine then their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to: or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence *Euripides* affirmes in *Andromache*, that their women were

all

all unchaste. Thus much may give us light after what sort of Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, resembling most the *Lacedæmonian* guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables, and the *Pontifick* College with their *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick* *Diogenes* coming Embassadors to *Rome*, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their Philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no lesse a man then *Cato* the Cenfor, who mov'd it in the Senat to dismisse them speedily, and to banish all

such *Attick* babblers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old *Sabin* austerity : honour'd and admir'd the men ; and the Cenfor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before hee was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time *Nævius* and *Plautus* the first Latine comedians had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be don to libellous books and Authors ; for *Nævius* was quickly cast into prison for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his recantation : We read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punish't by *Augustus*. The like severity no doubt

was

was us'd if ought were impiously writt'n
 against their esteemed gods. Except in
 these two points, how the world went in
 Books, the Magistrat kept no reck-
 ning. And therefore *Lucretius* without
 impeachment verifies his Epicurism to
Memmius, and had the honour to be set
 forth the second time by *Cicero* so great
 a father of the Commonwealth ; although
 himselfe disputes against that opinion in
 his own writings. Nor was the Satyri-
 call sharpnesse, or naked plainnes of
Lucilius, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any
 order prohibited. And for matters of
 State, the story of *Titus Livius*, though
 it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held,
 was not therefore suppress'd by *Octavius*
Cæsar of the other Faction. But that

Naso was by him banisht in his old age, for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret cause : and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if not so often bad, as good Books were silenc't. I shall therefore deem to have bin large enough in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more severe then what was formerly in practice.

tice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the Emperor. As for the writings of Heathen authors, unlesse they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to de-

clare what Books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each ones conscience to read or to lay by, till after the yeare 800, is observ'd already by *Padre Paolo* the great unmasker of the *Trentine* Councel. After which time the Popes of *Rome* engrossing what they pleas'd of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgements, burning and prohibiting to be read, what they fancied not ; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with : till *Martin* the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of hereticall Books ; for about that time *Wicklef*

and

and *Husse* growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10, and his successors follow'd, untill the Councell of Trent, and the Spanish Inquisition engendring together brought forth, or perfeted those Catalogues, and expurging Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters Hereticall, but any subject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, pamphlet, or

paper should be Printed (as if *S. Peter* had bequeath'd them the keys of the Presse also out of Paradise) unlesse it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example :

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to see if in this present work be contain'd ought that may withstand the Printing,

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the Catholick faith and good manners : In witness whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini Chancellor of Florence.

Attending

Attending the precedent relation, it is
allow'd that this present work of
Davanzati may be Printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be printed, *July 15.*

Frior *Simon Mompei d'Amelia* Chan-
cellor of the holy office in *Flo-*
rence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the
bottomlesse pit had not long since broke
prison, that this quadruple exorcism
would barre him down. I feare their
next designe will be to get into their
custody the licencing of that which they
say * *Claudius* intended, but went not

* Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque
ventris in convivio emittendi. Sueton. in
Claudio.

through

through with. Voutsafe to see another of their forms the Roman stamp :

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend Master of the holy Palace,

Belcastro Vicegerent.

Imprimatur,

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi* Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes 5 *Imprimaturs* are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n references, whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shall to the Presse or to the sponge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewicht of late our Prelats, and their Chap-

laines with the goodly Eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from Lambeth house, another from the West end of *Pauls*; so apishly Romanizing, that the word of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latine: or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous, and formost in the atchievements of liberty, will not easily finde fervile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption English. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall

ginall of Book-licencing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or politie, or Church, not by any Statute left us by our Ancestors elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed Citty, or Church abroad; but from the most Antichristian Councel, and the most tyrannous Inquisition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stiff'd then the issue of the womb: no envious *Juno* fate crof-leg'd over the nativity of any mans intellectuall off-spring; but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies, but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the Sea.

But

But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be borne to the World, and undergo yet in darknesse the judgement of *Radamantb* and his Collegues, ere it can passe the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbo's and new hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsell so officiously snatcht up, and so ilfavourdly imitated by our inquisituriert Bishops, and the attendant minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain Authors of this licencing order, and that all sinister
intention

intention was farre distant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily.

But some will say, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest Commonwealths through all ages, and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers, and oppressers of men were the first who tooke it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of those who beleeve, it will be a harder

der alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew, to sublimat any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, untill I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in generall of reading Books, what ever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of *Moses*, *Daniel*, & *Paul*, who were skilfull in all the learning of the *Ægyptians*, *Caldeans*, and *Greeks*, which could not probably be without reading their Books
of

of all sorts, in *Paul* especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian, the question was, notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apostat, and subtlest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to ther shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all
ignorance,

ignorance, that the two *Apollinarii* were
 fain as a man may say, to coin all the
 seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible,
 reducing it into divers forms of Orations,
 Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculat-
 ing of a new Christian Grammar. But
 faith the Historian *Socrates*, The provi-
 dence of God provided better then the
 industry of *Apollinarius* and his son, by
 taking away that illiterat law with the
 life of him who devis'd it. So great an
 injury they then held it to be depriv'd of
Hellenick learning; and thought it a per-
 secution more undermining, and secretly
 decaying the Church, then the open
 cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclesian*. And per-
 haps it was the same politick drift that
 the Divell whipt St. *Jerom* in a lenten

S

dream,

dream, for reading *Cicero*; or else it was a fantasm bred by the feaver which had then seis'd him. For had an Angel bin his discipliner, unlesse it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianism, and had chastiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partiall; first to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for scurrill *Plautus* whom he confesses to have bin reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient Fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; in-somuch that *Basil* teaches how some good use may be made of *Margites* a sportfull Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante*

an Italian Romanze much to the same purpose. But if it be agreed we shall be try'd by visions, there is a vision recorded by *Eusebius* far ancients than this tale of *Jerom* to the Nun *Eustochium*, and besides has nothing of a feavor in it. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was about the year 240, a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against hereticks by being conversant in their Books; untill a certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God, it

is his own Epistle that so averrs it, confirm'd him in these words : Read any books what ever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians, Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same Author ; To the pure all things are pure, not only meats and drinks, but all kinde of knowledge whether of good or evill ; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defil'd. For books are as meats and viands are ; some of good,
some

some of evill substance ; and yet God, in that unapocryphall vision, said without exception, Rise *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each mans discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome ; and best books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evill. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction ; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Wherof what better witness can ye expect I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed

in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whose volume of naturall & national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance towards the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the universall diet of mans body, saving ever the rules of temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life

of

of man ! yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular Law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivat under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser ; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon

those things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he, nor other inspir'd author tells us that such, or such reading is unlawfull; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had bin much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull, then what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephefian books by St. *Pauls* converts, tis reply'd the books were magick, the Syriack so renders them. It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed: these men practiz'd

practiz'd the books, another might per-
 haps have read them in some sort use-
 fully. Good and evill we know in the
 field of this World grow up together
 almost inseparably; and the knowledge
 of good is so involv'd and interwoven
 with the knowledge of evill, and in so
 many cunning resemblances hardly to be
 discern'd, that those confus'd seeds which
 were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant
 labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were
 not more intermixt. It was from out
 the rinde of one apple tasted, that the
 knowledge of good and evill as two twins
 cleaving together leapt forth into the
 World. And perhaps this is that doom
 which *Adam* fell into of knowing good
 and evill, that is to say of knowing good
 by

by evill. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never fallies out and fees her adversary, but flinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary.

trary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure ; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse ; Which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, describing true temperance under the person of *Guion*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bowr of earthly blisse that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and furvay of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human vertue, and the scanning of
error

error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with lesse danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of tracts, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckn'd. First, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human learning and controverfie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible itself; for that oft-times relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against providence through all the arguments

of

of *Epicurus*: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that *Moses* and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible it selfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as *Clement of Alexandria*, and that *Eusebian* book of Evangelick preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others, discover more heresies then they will confute, and that oft for heresie which is the truer opinion.

opinion. Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Master of his revels; and that notorions ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom *Harry* the 8. nam'd

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in merriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreine books can infuse, will finde a passage to the people farre easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it should be sail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eastward, or of *Canada* Westward, while our Spanish licencing gags the English Presse never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of controverfie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licencer. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc't by Papisticall book in English, unlesse it were commended
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and expounded to him by some of that Clergy : and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophe-
sie of Isaiab was to the *Eunuch*, not to be
understood without a guide. But of our
 Priests and Doctors how many have bin
 corrupted by studying the comments of
Jesuits and *Sorbonists*, and how fast they
 could transfuse that corruption into the
 people, our experience is both late and
 sad. It is not forgot, since the acute
 and distinct *Arminius* was perverted meer-
 ly by the perusing of a namelesse dis-
 cours writt'n at *Delf*, which at first he
 took in hand to confute. Seeing there-
 fore that those books, & those in great
 abundance which are likeliest to taint
 both life and doctrine, cannot be sup-
 prest

prest without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people what ever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also doe without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous enterprize of licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of

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that

that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books & dispredders both of vice and error, how shall the licencers themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptednesse? And again, if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the droffiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea or without book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd

restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgement of *Aristotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture. 'Tis next alleg'd we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations,

nor vanities ; but usefull drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working mineralls, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licencing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive ; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this order of licencing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd ; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster, then
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the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, To shew that no Nation or well instituted State, if they valu'd books at all, did ever use this way of licencing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had bin difficult to finde out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. *Plato*, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the

book of his laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the *genial* cups of an *Academick* night-fitting. By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man, what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd,

imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrates; both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of *Sophron*, *Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionysius*, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licencing of Poems had reference and dependence to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he him-

self, nor any Magistrat, or City ever
 imitated that cours, which tak'n apart
 from those other collaterall injunctions
 must needs be vain and fruitlesse. For
 if they fell upon one kind of strictnesse,
 unlesse their care were equall to regulat
 all other things of like aptnes to corrupt
 the mind, that single endeavour they
 knew would be but a fond labour; to shut
 and fortifie one gate against corruption,
 and be necessitated to leave others round
 about wide open. If we think to regu-
 lat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners,
 we must regulat all recreations and pas-
 times, all that is delightfull to man.
 No musick must be heard, no song be
 set or sung, but what is grave and *Do-
 rick*. There must be licencing dancers,
 that

that no gesture, motion, or deportment, be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was provided of; It will ask more then the work of twenty licensors to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittars in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensors? The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck

rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and
 the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler,
 for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's*
 and his *Monte Mayors*. Next, what more
 Nationall corruption, for which England
 hears ill abroad, then household glutto-
 ny; who shall be the rectors of our daily
 rioting? and what shall be done to in-
 hibit the multitudes that frequent those
 houses where drunk'nes is sold and har-
 bour'd? Our garments also should be
 referr'd to the licencing of some more
 sober work-masters to see them cut into
 a lesse wanton garb. Who shall regulat
 all the mixt conversation of our youth,
 male and female together, as is the fa-
 shion of this Country, who shall still ap-
 point what shall be discours'd, what
 pre-

presum'd, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separat all idle resort, all evill company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be lest hurtfull, how lest enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the mid'st whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* licencing of books will doe this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritt'n, or at least uncon-

straining

straining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licencing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissenes, for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth, but here the great art lyes to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pitance and prescription, and compulsion, what were vertue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what

gram-

grammercy to be sober, just or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgreffe, foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificiall *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They
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are not skilfull confiderers of human things, who imagin to remove fin by removing the matter of fin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increafing under the very act of diminifhing, though fome part of it may for a time be withdrawn from fome perfons, it cannot from all, in fuch a univerfall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the fin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewell left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetoufneffe. Banish all objects of luft, fhut up all youth into the fevereft difcipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chafte, that came not thither fo: fuch great care and wifdom is requir'd to the right

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managing of this point. Suppose we could expell sin by this means: look how much we thus expell of sin, so much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the triall of vertue, and the exercise of truth. It would be better done to learn that the
law

law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evill. And were I the choofer, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person, more then the restraint of ten vitious. And albeit what ever thing we hear or see, fitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly call'd our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly

weekly that continu'd Court-libell against the Parliament and City, Printed, as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers't among us, for all that licencing can doe? yet this is the prime service a man would think, wherein this order should give proof of it self. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if execution be remisse or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books. If then the order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc't books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain

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that no forrein books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly usefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of books encrease upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation of their whole suspected *typography*. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly

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ly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitlesse and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixt for many ages, only by unwritten traditions. The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over *Asia*, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the

honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will misse the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of books whether they may be waisted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing Journey-
work

work, a greater losse of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetuall reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unlesse at certain seasons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition which I cannot beleieve how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostrill should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licencers to be pardon'd for so thinking: who doubtlesse took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps

made all things seem easie and unlabourious to them ; but that this short triall hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to sollicite their licence, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the imployment, by all evident signs with themselves well ridd of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrif of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Presse-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensors we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew wherein this order cannot conduce

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to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront, that can be offered to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities, and distribute more equally Church revenu's, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left

him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgement & the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop
a scism,

a scism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*? if serious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser. He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born,

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for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian* oyl, to the hasty view of an unleasur'd licencer, perhaps much his younger,

younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst, or flighted, must appear in Print like a punie with his guardian, and his censors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot, or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the author, to the book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licencing, while the book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers : and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The Printer

ter dares not go beyond his licenc't copy ; so often then must the author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewd ; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure ; meanwhile either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author loose his accuratest thoughts, & send the book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches,

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all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licencer to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement. When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a coits distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State Sir, replies the Stationer, but has a quick return, The State shall be my governours, but not my criticks; they may be mistak'n in
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the choice of a licencer, as easily as this licencer may be mistak'n in an author: This is some common stufte; and he might adde from Sir *Francis Bacon*, That *such authoriz'd books are but the language of the times*. For though a licencer should happ'n to be judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoyns him to let passe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be Printed, or Reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd
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in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were *Knox* himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash : the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licencer. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as
these

these shall have authority to know out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common steadfast dunce will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole

whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever, much lesse that it should not passe except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant without their manuell stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that im-

pos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges. Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things & scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annext to passe his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended lesse then a disgracefull punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a

diffident

diffident and suspectfull prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stirre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people lesse then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licencer? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places

where the Laity are most hated and dispis'd the same strictnes is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; when as those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continuall preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincip'l'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiffe of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of thir catechism,

chism, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unsalable, should not be armor anough against one single *enckiridion*, without the castle St. *Angelo* of an *Imprimatur*.

And lest som should perswade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of lerned mens discouragement at this your order, are meer flourishes, and

not reall, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes ; when I have sat among their learned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of *Philosophic* freedom, as they suppos'd England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the fervil condition into which learning amongst them was brought ; that this was it which had damp't the glory of Italian wits ; that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers

licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelaticall yoke, neverthelesse I took it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I shou'd hear by as lerned men at home utterd in time of Parliament against an order of licencing; and that so gene-

rally, that when I had disclos'd myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest *quæstorship* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd against *Verres*, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth

in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selvs, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guest what is intended by som but a second tyranny over learning: and will soon put it out of controverfie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those
evills

evills of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributivly charg'd upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us : whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Arch-bishop over a large dioces of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mysticall pluralist. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, shall now at home in his privat chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covnants and Protestations that we have made,

this

this is not to put down Prelaty, this is but to chop an Episcopacy, this is but to tranſlate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old canonically flight of *commuting* our penance. To ſtartle thus be- times at a meer unlicenc'd pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Chriſtian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of juſtice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be ſo puſillanimous. While things are yet not conſtituted in Religion, that freedom of writing ſhould be refrain'd by a diſcipline imitated from the Prelats, and learnt

learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the brest of a licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open? it was the peoples birth-right and priviledge in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopall arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oyle, liberty of Printing must

must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullify'd, and which is wors, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters; all this the Parliament yet fitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: *The punishing of wits enhances their authority, saith the Viscount St. Albans, and a forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seeke to*

tread it out. This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step-dame to Truth : and first by disinabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to confider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain ; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretick in the truth ; and if he beleieve things only because his Pastor sayes so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though
his

his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladlier post off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Protestants and professors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he doe? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolv's to give
over

over toyling and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; some Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole ware-house of his religion, with all the locks and keyes into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home

home at night, praies, is liberally fupt, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well spic't bruage, and better breakfasted then he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Ierusalem*, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be who when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and fetl'd; nothing writt'n but what passes through the custom house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n truth, will strait give themselves up into your hands, mak'em &

cut 'em out what religion ye please; there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from fun to fun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have tak'n so strictly, and so unalterably into their own pouring. These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wisht, were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtles a stanch and solid peece of frame-work, as any January could freeze together.

Nor

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n among the Clergy themselves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *parochiall* Minister, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English concordance and a *topic folio*, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduation, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinall heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks and means, out of which as out of an alphabet or sol fa by forming and transforming, joyning and dis-joyning variously a little book-craft, and two hours

meditation might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning : not to reckon up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. *Thomas* in his vestry, and adde to boot St. *Martin*, and St. *Hugh*, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made : so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back dore be not secur'd by the rigid licencer, but that a bold book may now
and

and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinells about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduc't, who also then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be us'd, doe not make us affect the lazines of a licencing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and doe not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous

teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be found. Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preacht in publick; yet writing is more publick then preaching; and more easie to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose businesse and profession meerly it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect,

neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and disinur'd by this cours of licencing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensors themselves in the calling of their Ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse, and detriment that this plot of licencing

puts us to, more then if som enemy at sea should stop up all our hav'ns and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandize, Truth : nay it was first establisht and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falshood ; little differing from that policie wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confest, we are to send our thanks and vows to heav'n, louder then most of Nations, for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences

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the Prelats : but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortall glasse wherein we contemplate, can shew us, till we come to *beatific* vision, that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet farre short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on : but when he ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the *Ægyptian Typhon* with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good *Osiris*, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces,

peeces, and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second comming; he shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of lovelines and perfection. Suffer not these licencing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint.

We

We boast our light ; but if we look not wisely on the Sun itself, it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft *Combust*, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evning or morning. The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of

of

of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes, nor can convince, yet all must be suppress'd which is not found in their *Syntagma*. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered peeces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know

know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneal*, and proportionall) this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetick*, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forc't and outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, futtle and finewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her
deepest

deepest Sciences have bin so ancient, and so eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of *Pythagoras*, and the *Persian* wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civill Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæsar*, preferr'd the naturall wits of Britain, before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Transilvanian* sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of *Russia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes, not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language, and our *theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour
and

and the love of heav'n we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*. And had it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wicklef*, to suppress him as a schismatic and *innovator*, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Husse* and *Jerom*, no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin*, had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin completely ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter,

we

we are become hitherto the latest and backwardest Schollers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the generall instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the re-forming of Reformation itself: what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his English-men; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City; a City of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and furrounded with his protection;

tection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile, but wise and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing peo-

ple, a nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardnes among men, to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own

own hands again. A little generous
 prudence, a little forbearance of one
 another, and som grain of charity might
 win all these diligences to joyn, and
 unite into one generall and brotherly
 searck after Truth; could we but for-
 goe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding
 free consciences and Christian liberties
 into canons and precepts of men. I
 doubt not, if some great and worthy
 stranger should come among us, wise
 to discern the mould and temper of a
 people, and how to govern it, observ-
 ing the high hopes and aims, the dili-
 gent alacrity of our extended thoughts
 and reasonings in the pursuance of truth
 and freedom, but that he would cry
 out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Ro-

man docility and courage, if such were my *Epirots*, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismatics and sectaries ; as if, while the Temple of the LORD was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrationall men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of GOD can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world ; neither can every peece of the building be

be of one form ; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull, symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish, of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'n-ty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodnesse, as

Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The adverfarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small anough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches: nor will beware untill he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps though over timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall

shall laugh in the end, at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls, and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discours'd or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentednesse and confidence in your pru-

dent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon *Hanibal* himself encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cherfull presage of our happy succeffe and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rationall faculties, and those in the acuteest, and the pertest operations of wit and suttlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution

the

the body is, so when the cherfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solideft and sublimest points of controverfie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatall decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prosperous vertue destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks : Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth,

youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes
 at the full midday beam ; purging and
 unscaling her long abused sight at the
 fountain it self of heav'nly radiance ;
 while the whole noise of timorous and
 flocking birds, with those also that love
 the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at
 what she means, and in their envious
 gabble would prognosticat a year of sects
 and schisms.'

What should ye doe then? should ye
 suppress all this flowry crop of know-
 ledge and new light sprung up and yet
 springing daily in this City? should ye
 set an *Oligarchy* of twenty engrossers over
 it, to bring a famine upon our minds
 again, when we shall know nothing but
 what is measur'd to us by their bushel?

I

Beleeve

Beleeve it, Lords and Commons, they who counsell ye to such a suppressing, doe as good as bid ye suppress your-
 selves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer than your own mild, and free, and human government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchast us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlight-
 ned our spirits like the influence of heav'n; this is that which hath enfran-
 chis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now lesse capable, lesse
 know-

knowing, lesse eagerly pursuing of the truth, unlesse ye first make your selves, that made us so, lesse the lovers, lesse the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formall, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your owne virtu propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unlesse ye reinforce an abrogated and mercilesse law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest

est to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequall to suppress opinions for the newnes, or the unfutableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the
Church

Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord *Brook*. His writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, how-

ever

ever they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book it self will tell us more at large, being publisht to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusall.

And now the time in speciall is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of *Janus* with his two *controversal* faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose

to

to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose it, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence,

gence, *to seek for wisdom as for hidd'n treasures* early and late, that another order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute. When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battell raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please; only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger should passe, though it be valour anough in souldiership, is but

A a

weaknes

weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty? she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licencings, to make her victorious, those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, & do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who spake oracles only when he was caught & bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, untill she be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. What else is all that rank of

things

things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike her self? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of *those ordinances, that hand-writing nayl'd to the crosse?* what great purchase is this Christian liberty which *Paul* so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or regards it not, may doe either to the LORD. How many other things might be tolerared in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisie to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us. We

stumble and are impatient at the least
 dividing of one visible congregation from
 another, though it be not in fundamen-
 talls; and through our forwardnes to
 suppress, and our backwardnes to re-
 cover any enthrall'd peece of truth out
 of the gripe of custom, we care not to
 keep truth separated from truth, which
 is the fiercest rent and disunion of all.
 We doe not see that while we still affect
 by all means a rigid externall formality,
 we may as soon fall into a grosse confor-
 ming stupidity, a stark and dead con-
 gealment of *wood and hay and stubble*
 forc't and frozen together, which is
 more to the sudden degenerating of a
 Church than many *subdichotomies* of petty
 schisms. Not that I can think well of
 every

every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and pretious stones*: it is not possible for a man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other frie; that must be the Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more wholsome, more prudent, and more Christian, that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is

impious or evil absolutely either against
 faith or maners no law can possibly per-
 mit, that intends not to unlaw it self:
 but those neighbouring differences, or
 rather indifferences, are what I speak of,
 whether in some point of doctrine or of
 discipline, which though they may be
 many, yet need not interrupt *the unity*
of Spirit, if we could but find among
 us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while
 if any one would write, and bring his
 helpfull hand to the slow-moving Refor-
 mation which we labour under, if Truth
 have spok'n to him before others, or
 but seem'd at least to speak, who hath
 so bejesuited us that we should trouble
 that man with asking licence to doe so
 worthy a deed? and not consider this,
that

that if it come to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then truth it self; whose first appearance to our eyes blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and custom, is more unfightly and unplaufible then many errors, ev'n as the person is of many a great man flight and contemptible to see to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard, but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a Kingdome with strong and healthfull

commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis
 not untrue that many sectaries and false
 teachers are then busiest in seducing;
 but yet more true it is, that God then
 raises to his own work men of rare abi-
 lities, and more then common industry
 not only to look back and revise what
 hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain
 further and goe on, some new enlightn'd
 steps in the discovery of truth. For
 such is the order of God's enlightning
 his Church, to dispense and deal out by
 degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes
 may best sustain it. Neither is God ap-
 pointed and confin'd, where and out of
 what place these his chosen shall be first
 heard to speak; for he sees not as man
 sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest
we

we should devote our selves again to set places, and assemblies, and outward callings of men ; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation-house, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster ; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd, is not sufficient without plain conviction, and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made ; no though *Harry* the 7. himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if
the

the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismaticks, what witholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we doe not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberrall and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confesse the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, ev'n for that respect

they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the speciall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests, nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haſt of a precipitant zeal ſhall make no diſtinction, but reſolve to ſtop their mouths, becauſe we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we underſtand them, no leſſe than woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Goſpel, we are found the perſecutors.

There have bin not a few ſince the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others who by their unlicen't books to the contempt of an

Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day : I hope that none of those were the perswaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by condemning. But if neither the check that *Moses* gave to young *Joshua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicenc't, be not enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not

not enough, but that they will perswade, and execute the most *Dominican* part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequall distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition hath put up, more then their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Presse, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better then your selves have done in that Order publisht next before this, that no book be Printed, unlesse the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers be register'd. Those
which

which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectually remedy, that mans prevention can use. For this *authentic* Spanish policy of licencing books, if I have said ought, will prove the most unlicenc't book it self within a short while ; and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the Starres with *Lucifer*. Whereby ye may guesse what kinde of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with
singular

singular hypocrisie it pretended to bind
 books to their good behaviour. And
 how it got the upper hand of your pre-
 cedent Order so well constituted before,
 if we may beleieve those men whose
 profession gives them cause to enquire
 most, it may be doubted there was in
 it the fraud of some old *patentees* and
monopolizers in the trade of book-selling;
 who under pretence of the poor in their
 Company not to be defrauded, and the
 just retaining of each man his severall
 copy, which God forbid should be
 gainsaid, brought divers glosing colours
 to the House, which were indeed but
 colours, and serving to no end except
 it be to exercise a superiority over their
 neigh-

neighbours, men who doe not therefore labour in an honest profession to which learning is indetted, that they should be made other mens vassalls. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I skill not : This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident ; for what Magistrate may not be misinform'd, and much the sooner, if liberty of printing be reduc't into the power of a few ; but to redresse willingly and

speedily

speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honour'd Lords and Commons) answerable to Your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatest and wisest men.

THE END.

speedily what hath bin said, and in
 highest anxiety to effect a plain ad-
 vancement more than others have done
 a virtuous wife, is a virtue (po-
 nent Lords and Commons) and what
 able to Your highest actions, and what
 of hope can participate but greatest and

will be, and there are many more

to be done, and I am sure I shall

be able to do so, and I am sure I shall

be able to do so, and I am sure I shall

THE END

and I am sure I shall be able to do so

and I am sure I shall be able to do so

and I am sure I shall be able to do so

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and I am sure I shall be able to do so



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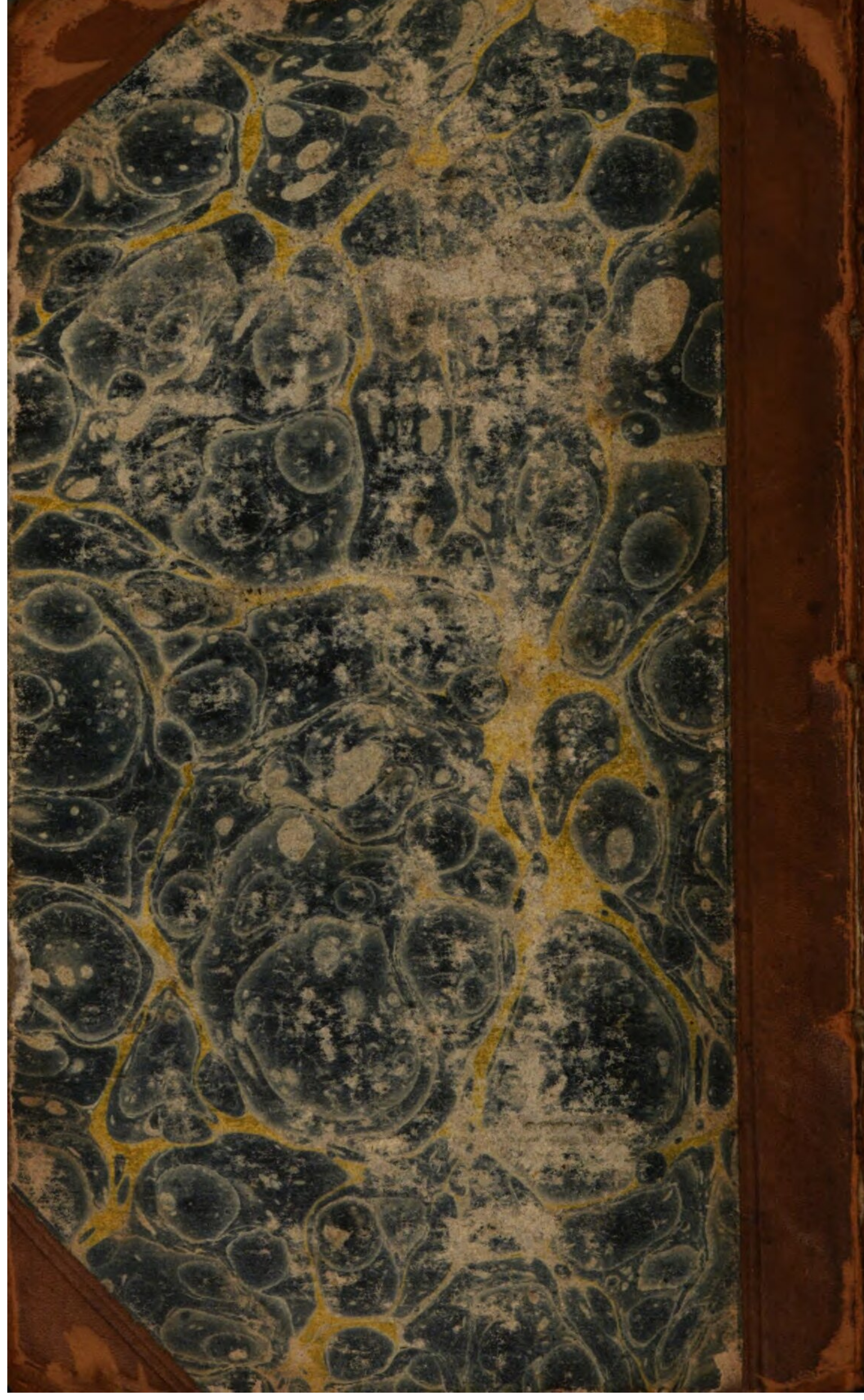
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V/m



Blackburne, Francis

Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton to which are added Milton's tractate
of education

London 1780

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